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SELECTED STUDIES ON INDONESIA

By Dutch Scholars

VOLUME FIVE

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Published for
THE ROYAL TROPICAL INSTITUTE – AMSTERDAM
Under a grant from
THE NETHERLANDS ORGANIZATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PURE RESEARCH – THE HAGUE

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BALI

Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual

[Title page]

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W. VAN HOEVE LTD – THE HAGUE AND BANDUNG
1960

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Foreword

Bali, 'the island of the many temples', has long appealed to the imagination of the Westerner, and Balinese life has been the theme of several popular novels and travel books. There are, however, still fairly few products of scholarly research on Bali in English.

In those works that are available – books and articles by such eminent scholars as Jane Belo, Claire Holt, Margaret Mead, Beryl de Zoete, Gregory Bateson, Colin McPhee, and Walter Spies – one finds reference again and again to the fund of knowledge amassed by a handful of scholars from the Netherlands who have delved into Balinese studies, names such as those of R. Goris, C. J. Grader, and V. E. Korn. The trailblazing work of those scholars themselves has meanwhile remained largely unknown, written as it is in Dutch and hidden away in Dutch and Indonesian journals difficult for most students from other countries to come by.

One of the main objectives of the editors in planning this volume has been to make more generally accessible a sampling of the work of these and other Dutch scholars who have contributed substantially to the field of Balinese studies. At the same time an attempt has been made to select for inclusion a group of articles, papers, and monographs which, when read in conjunction with the introductory essay written especially for this book by Dr J. L. Swellengrebel, would constitute a concise introduction to the pattern of Balinese life and society.

A special problem in the editing of any work on Bali is that of the spelling to be used. The editors have found it advisable to spell modern Balinese and Indonesian words according to the rules

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used on the Malay Peninsula, thus with continental values for vowels, and English for consonants. For Sanskrit and Old or Middle Javanese words, on the other hand, the spelling is that commonly used by specialists in the field. For non-specialist readers it is perhaps sufficient to indicate that in this spelling *c* stands for the 't-y' combination in 'what you' and *ç* and *ʂ* for the consonantal sound in 'she'. In both transcriptions the *pepet* (*ĕ*) indicating the unvoiced 'e' (the sound of the 'e' in 'fasten') has been retained. There has been every effort to arrive at consistency in spelling in accordance with Balinese pronunciation, though exceptions have been made in the case of some words with generally established spellings; the question, moreover, whether in a given situation Boda was preferable to Buddha, or Sri to Çrī, sometimes necessitated a Gordian approach. Despite certain drawbacks, it has seemed preferable to indicate words from Indonesian languages which are plural in their implications by adding the English plural suffix '-s'. The pure forms of such words, without the '-s', are given in the glossary.

Among the many persons who have willingly lent their assistance in the preparation of this volume, the editors are particularly indebted to Dr Swellengrebel, who graciously consented to take time from other activities in order to write the introductory essay. Sincere gratitude is also due to the Netherlands Bible Society, which with equal grace permitted Dr Swellengrebel to undertake that task. Thankful acknowledgement must moreover be made to Dr H. J. Franken, Dr Goris, Mr Grader and Dr Korn for granting permission to publish work in translation, and to them, Dr Swellengrebel, Rev. Frank L. Cooley, and Dr Clifford Geertz for reading through portions of the English manuscript and making many valuable suggestions and comments. Further thanks are due to Professor C. Hooykaas, who called to the editors' attention a translation of Dr Franken's article which is included here under the title "The Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt"; to Miss Jeune Scott-Kemball, who translated that article; and to Mr James S Holmes, who prepared the remainder of the translation. Finally, mention should be

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Finally mention should be made of the fact that publication of this book, like that of the preceding volumes in the series of 'Selected Studies on Indonesia', has been made possible through a grant of the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO) to the Royal Tropical Institute.

THE EDITORS

Amsterdam, Summer 1959

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Biographical Notes

#4 HENDRICUS JACOBUS FRANKEN was born in Oostkapelle, on the Zeeland island of Walcheren, in 1917. After studying theology at Amsterdam University, he was sent out to Bali in 1946 as a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church. He returned to the Netherlands in 1951, and obtained his doctor's degree from the University of Leiden in 1954 with a dissertation on *The Mystical Communion with JHWH in the Book of Psalms* (Leiden, 1954). Since appointed to teach Biblical archeology at Leiden University, Dr Franken is at present working with a group of Dutch excavators at Deir Alla in Jordan.

ROELOF GORIS was born at Krommenie (North Holland) in 1898. He matriculated at Leiden University in 1918, and in 1926 obtained his doctor's degree with a dissertation *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie* (Contribution to the Knowledge of Early Javanese and Balinese Theology; Leiden, 1926). The following year he began his career in Indonesia as research scholar and field-worker in government service – a career which he has continued for more than thirty years, interrupted only by his internment in the war period. Most of those years were spent on Bali, and the breadth of Dr Goris' knowledge of Balinese society is evidenced by a lengthy list of publications. Among these are two in English: "The Balinese Medical Literature", *Djâwâ*, XVII (1937), 281–290, and *Bali: Atlas kebudajaan / Cults and Customs / Cultuurgeschiedenis in beeld* (Jakarta, n.d. [1955]). Dr Goris is now an Indonesian citizen.

CHRISTIAAN JOHAN GRADER, born in Magelang, Java, in 1906, matriculated at Leiden University in 1925, majoring in Indo-

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nesian studies (economic emphasis). In 1932 he entered government service in Indonesia, in which he remained until 1951. Apart from his internment during the war, most of his years of service were spent on Bali. In 1937–1938 he was in charge of preparations for the restoration of the Balinese self-governing principalities; in 1947–1948 he served in the personal cabinet of the (Balinese) president of the federal state of East Indonesia. After various positions and special assignments at home and abroad in the years 1951–1958, Mr Grader now teaches non-Western sociology at his *alma mater* and at Wageningen Agricultural University. His publications consist of ten monographs and studies on Balinese subjects, three of which are included in translation in this volume, plus a more general essay which has been translated as *Rural Organization and Village Revival in Indonesia* (Data Paper No 5, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program; Ithaca, New York, 1952).

VICTOR EMANUEL KORN, born in The Hague in 1892, entered Leiden University in 1910. After passing his civil service examination in 1913, he began his career as a government official in Indonesia. In 1917 he was appointed to his first post on Bali. Returning to the Netherlands in 1921, he again took up his studies at Leiden. The next year he published the book *Balische overeenkomsten* (Balinese Contracts; The Hague, 1922), and in 1924 he obtained a doctor's degree with his dissertation on *Het adatrecht van Bali* (Balinese *Adat* Law; The Hague, 1924). That same year he returned to Indonesia, where he continued to work as a civil servant until 1939. This second period in Indonesia, more than half of it spent on Bali, saw the publication not only of a second, revised and enlarged, edition of Dr Korn's book on Balinese *adat* law, but also of his *Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan* (The Village Republic of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan; Santpoort, 1933). In 1939 he was appointed professor of *adat* law at Leiden University, from which post he retired in 1959. Besides the books mentioned above, Dr Korn has written a number of shorter studies on Balinese subjects.

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114 JAN LODEWIJK SWELLENGREBEL was born at Rotterdam in 1909. He entered the University of Leiden in 1928, and in 1936 he obtained his doctor's degree with the dissertation *Korawdçrama. Een oud-Javaansch proza-geschrift, uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht (Korawdçrama:* An Old Javanese Prose Work, Edited and Translated with Commentary; Santpoort, 1936). From 1936 to 1941 Dr Swellengrebel was on Bali as a missionary linguist charged by the Netherlands Bible Society with the task of working on a Balinese translation of the Bible; for the last three years before the war he also worked on the government-sponsored project of preparing a Balinese-Dutch dictionary. After the war he returned to Bali for the Bible Society from 1947 to 1950, and from 1951 to 1959 worked on a Bible translation into Indonesian, meanwhile living in West Java. Now back in the Netherlands, he is attached to the translation section of the Netherlands Bible Society. Among Dr Swellengrebel's various publications are his study *Kerk en Tempel op Bali* (Church and Temple on Bali; The Hague 1948) and a translation of the Gospel of Luke into Balinese – *Orta Rahaju Manut Pangarentjanan Dane Lukas* (Jakarta, 1957). Of interest to the English-language student of Bali are also his "A Literal Translation of Mark I in Balinese" and "Bible Translation and Politeness on Bali", in *The Bible Translator*, I (1950), 75–78 and 124–130.

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Introduction

by

J. L. Swellengrebel

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Chapter One

Bali: Some General Information

I

The Balinese Landscape

The island of Bali lies due east of Java, separated only by a narrow strait. Its total area is somewhat more than two thousand square miles.

The westernmost district of Bali, Jĕmbrana, was in earlier times fairly isolated from the central part of the island. It had many more contacts with the extreme east of Java, to the west overseas, than with the rest of Bali, to the east overland. An indication of its isolation is the fact that it did not contribute to the cost of maintaining Bali's chief temple, Pura Bĕsakih.[1] This isolation was brought to an end in the twentieth century with the construction of a road along the south coast. Moreover, beginning in the 'thirties many Balinese transmigrated to Jĕmbrana to help in opening up the land there, and that, too, has tended to strengthen the bonds with the central part of the island. Ethnically and religiously Jĕmbrana is the least homogeneous of all the regions of Bali (see Table 4 below).

The main part of the island – central Bali, as the Balinese themselves call it – is the densely populated territory which slopes from the island's high mountain range down towards the south. Cut through by many river valleys running from north to south, it is a fertile *sawah* region. The mountain range runs from the west *via* Gunung Batu Kau ('the coconut-shell mountain', 7,462 feet), and the central highland and lake country with Gunung Batur (5,630 feet, a volcano which has wrought great destruction on the island at various times, notably in 1917 and 1927), to Gunung Agung ('the great mountain', 10,302 feet),

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in the east. To the southeast of central Bali lies the arid island Nusa Pĕnida, which the Balinese simply call Nusa, 'the island'. At the extreme southern point of Bali is a limestone peninsula which the early Dutch named the Varkenshoek, or 'pig's point', and the Balinese speak of as Bukit, 'the hill'.

To the north of the mountain range lies the region of Buleleng, for the southern Balinese Den Bukit, 'the land north of the mountains'. The narrow coastal strip, which quickly merges into steep foothills, is closed off to the west by the region of Cape Pulaki, the realm of the Invisible Ones of Pulaki, for a traditional Bulelengese the end of his world. Only since a decade ago has there been a roadway going past Pulaki to the west. In Buleleng the mountains run down close to the sea, creating a sharp contrast. The contrast in central Bali is less sharp, but there also the mountain chain dominates the whole highlands and from many a place in the mountains one can see the Indian Ocean glistening in the sun.

The easternmost region of Bali, Karangasĕm, lies to the northeast, east, and south of Gunung Agung, hence for the most part outside the mountain range. Politically it was sometimes oriented more towards the island of Lombok, lying to the east of it, than towards central Bali. Most of the earlier Balinese overlords on Lombok stemmed from Karangasĕm, and the same is probably also true of the Balinese colonists there. In 1930 the Balinese community on Lombok numbered a bit under thirty thousand five hundred persons.[2] For 1948 the figure of forty thousand has been given.[3]

Not only Jĕmbrana was isolated in the old days: contacts between central Bali and the land north of the mountains were also difficult. Moreover the lay of the land in the central Balinese highlands is such that it is easier to travel from south to north than from east to west. Roads and paths from the southern coast northwards are fairly straight and unobstructed, mounting gradually at first, and then at a sharper incline. But if one goes, for example, to the northeast or the northwest from Den Pasar (the chief town in southern Bali, located on the southern spur of the

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island), the road makes its way from one ravine to another in many twists and turns. It was no doubt partly as a result of this topography that no central authority was ever able to maintain itself on Bali with ease. The central Balinese highlands were traditionally divided into five practically independent principalities lying side by side: Tabanan, Mĕngwi (which was vanquished and gobbled up by its neighbours in 1891), Badung, Gianyar, and Klungkung.

Bali was known of old for its rather inaccessible coasts. There were only a few good places for ships to lie at anchor, and the peninsula of Bukit seems to have been a dangerous point to circumnavigate.

2

The People of Bali

There are no recent detailed demographic data for Bali. For such figures one must go back to the last census held in Indonesia, that of 1930. In the 1954 registration for the general elections the concern was of course only to obtain certain general figures regarding the number of Indonesian citizens on the island. Unfortunately the figures are not completely comparable to those for 1930. The census gave the total number of inhabitants, broken down according to country of origin, whereas the 1954 figures give the total number of inhabitants of Indonesian origin plus the number (not yet made available) of others, Asians and Europeans, who had become Indonesian citizens.

The figures for 1954 for the separate regions and for Bali as a whole[4] are given in Table 1, with those for 1930 added for purposes of comparison.[5]

Table 2 gives a few figures for the whole island in 1920[6] and 1930 as regards population groups.

The total population of Indonesian origin can be broken down according to ethnic origin into Balinese and Indonesians from elsewhere; the Balinese, in turn, can be broken down according to religion into 'Bali Hindu' (the term for the adherents of the

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161 TABLE 1: THE POPULATION OF BALI PER REGION, 1930 AND 1954

Region	1954				1930	
	<18	18+	Total	Density (per square mile)	Total	Density (per square mile)
Buleleng	113,888	144,838	258,726	507	170,638	334
Jembrana	46,307	51,920	98,227	302	47,261	148
Tabanan	101,056	138,125	239,181	727	177,166	544
Badung	106,694	148,728	255,422	1,292	192,992	976
Gianyar	88,233	123,559	211,792	1,491	164,422	1,173
Bangli	52,067	54,973	107,040	583	158,026	490
Klungkung	52,552	64,570	117,122	881		
Karangasem	100,183	131,348	231,531	696	190,888	585
Bali	*660,980*	*858,061*	*1,519,041*	*700*	*1,101,393*	*514*

162 TABLE 2: THE POPULATION OF BALI PER POPULATION GROUP, 1920 AND 1930

Population Group	1920	1930
Indonesians	940,777	1,092,037
Chinese	5,446	7,629
Other non-Indonesian Asians	767	1,324
Europeans	243	403
Total	*947,233*	*1,101,393*

island's traditional religion) and the Balinese who have become Moslems, the 'Bali Islam'. The figures for the two in 1920 and 1930, and those for the non-Balinese Indonesian population of the island, are given in Table 3.

162 563 TABLE 3: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP ON BALI, 1920 AND 1930

Group	1920		1930	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	920,394	97.84	1,062,885	97.33
Bali Islam	13,027	1.38	16,992	1.56
Indonesians from elsewhere	7,356	0.78	12,160	1.11
Total	*940,777*	*100.00*	*1,092,037*	*100.00*

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As Table 4 shows, the region of Gianyar was far more than 99 per cent. Bali Hindu, while the figure for Jĕmbrana was less than 80 per cent. 162 563

TABLE 4: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP IN TWO BALINESE REGIONS, 1930

Group	Gianyar		Jembrana	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	163,351	99.87	37,063	79.33
Bali Islam	81	0.05	7,750	16.55
Indonesians from elsewhere	131	0.08	1,906	4.12
Total	163,563	100.00	46,719	100.00

The towns are of course less homogeneous than the countryside. This is in turn more true of Singaraja, the administrative seat and chief port, than of Den Pasar, as can be seen in Table 5. [369]

TABLE 5: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP IN TWO BALINESE TOWNS, 1930

Group	Singaraja		Den Pasar	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	8,999	67.94	14,026	92.31
Bali Islam	1,439	13.97	62	0.41
Indonesians from elsewhere	1,864	18.09	1,105	7.28
Total	10,302	100.00	15,193	100.00

There is no reason to assume that these general ratios have changed significantly since 1930, though the European group has grown smaller, the Bali Hindu group has lost some four thousand persons who were converted to Christianity, and the group of Indonesians from elsewehere (largely Moslems) has probably increased. With one exception, then, the percentages give an approximate impression of the present-day situation. The exception is Jĕmbrana, where the Bali-Hindu percentage has definitely increased as a result of transmigration from other parts of Bali. For reliable and accurate data on the present

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situation it will of course be necessary to wait until the next census.

3

Race, Origin, Language

The Balinese, like the large majority of the other inhabitants of Indonesia, are classified as Malays, who are usually included in the Palaeo-Mongolid sub-race.[8] In the sub-division into Early and Late Malays the Balinese belong to the latter group.

The ancestors of the Indonesians must originally have lived in what is now Yunan, in southwest China. Around 2000 B.C. they began to trek southwards from the mountains to the coast of Farther India, and roughly five hundred years later crossed over to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Bali, and to the other islands. When they settled on Bali is not known with any precision.[9]

The present-day languages of Indonesia are cognate, and together constitute the Indonesian language family. Inside that family there are several groups of more closely related languages. Balinese, together with the Sasakese of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of western Sumbawa, constitutes one such group.[10] In structure and syntax, then, it is more closely related to those languages than to Javanese. In the course of history,[11] however, Old Javanese (and, either directly or *via* Old Javanese, Sanskrit)[12] has had a great influence on the Balinese vocabulary, as regards not only terms for cultural elements borrowed, but also everyday terms. Hence the position of Balinese in the Indonesian language family is comparable to that of English in the Indo-Germanic family. English, too, is very closely related to the languages of one group, the Germanic, but in the course of history has been strongly influenced by Latin and French, two languages of another group, the Italic.

Balinese also has in common with Javanese its use of the so-called 'vocabularies of courtesy'.[13] The Balinese determines his choice of words according to the social relation between the

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person he is speaking to or speaking about and himself. Hence in Balinese one has to cope with three special vocabularies within the language, each of which includes some hundreds of words. One employs the ordinary, common language when speaking with intimates, equals, or inferiors; polite terms must be used as soon as one begins to speak to one's superiors or to strangers; and 'deferential' terms are obligatory in all cases when one is so bold as to speak of parts of the body or of the acts, possessions, or qualities of important people. The Balinese sum up the last two vocabularies under the term *alus* ('fine' or 'noble'). Naturally these two are intermingled, since the person to whom one speaks politely has the right to make use of deferential terms for everything concerning his own sphere of thought, action, and being. Thus in Balinese one encounters many doublets and triplets which are almost synonymous, but different in degree of deference, politeness, or familiarity. One who speaks familiarly to an important person or uses colloquial terms concerning a superior is guilty of rudeness. Such rudeness could lead in some cases to an indictment in court, since the use of the deferential vocabulary is closely related to caste prerogatives. One who uses the deferential terms to his equals or inferiors is naturally not punishable, but his speech is regarded as ridiculous. Nor does one use the deferential terms in speaking of oneself. That would be the extreme of arrogance.

4

Balinese Agriculture

Bali is renowned for its *sawahs*, its irrigated ricefields. And even where wet-rice cultivation is impossible, it is a predominantly agricultural land. In 1930 seventy-five out of every hundred persons gainfully employed were in agriculture, which there almost without exception follows the indigenous Indonesian pattern. There are foreign-owned plantations only in Jembrana and the part of Buleleng to the west of Pulaki; the total area of such plantation lands amounted to some 6,800 acres in 1954.

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241 311 According to official data 1,434 square miles of land, or close to 70 per cent. of Bali's surface, was under cultivation in 1948. Of that area 26 per cent. consisted of wet ricefields, 41 per cent. of non-irrigated fields (about one-third of them planted with maize, one-third with beans and tubers, and one-seventh with rice), 7 per cent. of coffee gardens, and 17 per cent. of coconut groves. By far the largest complex of *sawahs* is in the central Balinese highlands, where it covers an important part of the present regions of Tabanan, Badung, Gianyar, and Klungkung. In the other regions the *sawah* area is considerably smaller. The mountainous Bangli has *sawahs* only at its southern point, Karangasĕm and Jĕmbrana each have a *sawah* belt around their regional capitals, and Buleleng has two *sawah* areas, one around the administrative seat and one in the stretch to the northwest of the Batu Kau.

Figures on the farmland available in 1948 and comparative data on the relative density of population are given in Table 6.

161 241 311 TABLE 6: DENSITY OF POPULATION ON BALI PER REGION IN COMPARISON TO FARMLAND AVAILABLE, 1950

Region	*Total Area (in square miles)*	*Population (1950)*	*Sawah Acreage (1948)*	*Dry-Field Acreage (1948)*	*Inhabitants per Square Mile of Farmland*
Buleleng	510	229,870	34,429	151,297	798
Jĕmbrana	325	63,133 (?)	15,016	71,095	469 (?)
Tabanan	329	238,520	62,198	110,847	881
Badung	209½	259,980	47,732	60,119	1,536
Gianyar	142	221,490	39,022	34,233	1,932
Bangli	201	100,010	7,937	72,518	795
Klungkung	121½	113,870	11,952	48,610	1,207
Karangasĕm	352½	257,150	19,975	130,800	1,080
Bali	*2,170½*	*1,484,043*	*238,261*	*679,313*	*1,233*

Table 7 gives figures on the net yields from agriculture for 1953. These few figures[14] are perhaps enough to indicate the importance of agriculture, and in particular wet-rice farming.

241 312 The latter is, in fact, mentioned even in very old royal edicts. One of them dating from 1022 refers to the irrigation association as *kĕsuwakan*, a term related to the Modern Balinese word for

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TABLE 7: CROP YIELDS ON BALI, 1953

Crop	Yield (in Imperial cwt)
Husked rice	
from wet fields	2,907,064
from dry fields	227,806
Maize	1,139,981
Tubers	2,056,901

that concept, *subak*. Another edict, dating from 896, mentions, alongside of other *undagis*, or craftsmen, the *undagi pĕngarung*.[15] *Pĕngarung* comes from an Old Balinese root *arung*, which in Modern Balinese has become *aung*, whence are derived *aungan* (tunnel for irrigation water)[16] and *ngaung* (to make an *aungan*). Hence *undagi pĕngarung* means 'tunnel-builder'. If there were already tunnel-builders in 896 it may be assumed that wet-rice farming on Bali is significantly older than that. The modern phase of wet-rice farming is considered in this volume in a study by Grader of the irrigation associations in Jĕmbrana.[17]

5

The Balinese Desa

The people who carry on agriculture live in village communities called *desas*, and the *desa* is the chief social unit on Bali. In central Bali one can see *desa* after *desa* lying in a grove amidst its shelving *sawahs:* a cluster of compounds surrounded by clay walls and planted with clumps of bamboo and with banana, coconut, and other useful trees.

From the inscriptions it is known with certainty of various *desas* that they were already in existence a good nine or ten hundred years ago. For the ordinary Balinese the *desa* must in earlier times have figured as the focal point of the universe, considering the frequent recurrence of the name 'navel temple' for one of the three village sanctuaries. (In Balinese as in other Indonesian languages 'navel' has the connotation of 'centre'.)

The *desa* is often defined as a community of worship. An important part of its function does, indeed, lie in the religious

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field. That function might be defined briefly as the task of maintaining the cosmic balance in the territory of the *desa*, and thus of assuring the well-being of the *desa* inhabitants, by worshipping the divine powers and exorcizing the demonic ones. Each *desa* does this, with ceremonies performed in or nearby its temples. In the *desa* there are differences between inhabitants as regards their functions and their right-of-say, but every group is expected to cooperate in performing the community task by helping to maintain and restore the village temples and to provide offerings and whatever else may be needed for the temple festivals and the ceremonies of purification and exorcism.

It would be one-sided to view the *desa* community exclusively as a community of worship, for it also fulfils a task in the social field. But it is difficult to make a distinction between its social and its religious task, as becomes clear whenever members of a village community go over to another religion. In keeping with the design of this volume, attention will be given particularly to the religious aspects of *desa* life.

6

The Land of the Many Temples

In tourist folders Bali is often advertised as the 'land of the thousand temples'. That such a folder is in error happens quite frequently, but that it errs by understating is a rare exception. Nonetheless that is here the case.

In the earthquake of 1917, 2,431 Balinese temples were destroyed. The stricken area, which was not one of the most densely populated parts of Bali, covered about a ninth of the total surface of the island. This would lead one to set the number of temples on the whole island at more than twenty thousand.[18] A recent figure from the Bureau of Religious Affairs on Bali gave the total number of large and important temples as 4,661.[19]

No student of Bali can afford not to familiarize himself with the extensive temple system and the religion that manifests itself in it. One of the purposes of this volume is to provide materials

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for such a study. The long quotation on page 28 below places the present-day Balinese temple in its prehistoric perspective. Goris, in his essays "The Religious Character of the Village Community" and "The Temple System",[20] provides a general survey of the temple system and the temple cult. Grader describes a single temple monographically in his study "Pĕmayun Temple of the *Banjar* of Tĕgal" and a special type of temples in "The State Temples of Mĕngwi".[21] In his article on rice cultivation the religious responsibilities of the *sawah*-owners and the irrigation associations are also given attention. And Franken, in his "Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt",[22] illustrates how Bali's pantheon and temple system are still being extended from time to time.

7

Western Literature Regarding Bali

A good thirty-five years ago, C. Lekkerkerker, then the librarian of the Bali Institute at Amsterdam, brought out an excellent bibliography of literature on Bali published between 1597 and 1919, including as many publications as possible in other languages alongside of those in Dutch.[23] A supplement covering the years 1920–1935, but this time restricted to "the most important literature on the culture of Bali", was published by Goris in 1937.[24] In this case, too, books and articles in Indonesian, English, French, and German were listed as well as those in Dutch.

The earliest Western writings on the island were usually based on brief chance contacts. The writers (beginning with Aernoudt Lintgensz., the first Dutchman to set foot on Bali, in 1597)[25] looked at the outward appearance, and their reports, though often containing interesting material, were not the result of serious research. The visits of Raffles and Crawfurd, in the early nineteenth century, were likewise little more than brief encounters.[26]

Around the middle of the nineteenth century the situation changed. At that time the German Sanskritist R. Friederich,

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sent to Bali by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1846, began regular research in Buleleng and Badung – research which brought to light any amount of interesting material, for example on the subject of the Balinese calendar,[27] and a number of manuscripts, including the *Usana Bali*.[28] It may be said that with Friederich the scholarly study of Balinese culture by Westerners had begun. He was followed by the first Dutch civil servant to be stationed on the island (in Buleleng), P. L. van Bloemen Waanders, who in 1857 and following years published a number of articles replete with information.[29] In 1870 H. Neubronner van der Tuuk settled on Bali, where he continued to work until the year of his death, 1894, first as representative of the Netherlands Bible Society and later in the service of the Netherlands East Indies government. We of today are indebted to this eccentric genius for a wealth of data on Old Javanese and Old Balinese and their literatures.[30]

In 1864 the Utrecht Missionary Society decided to send three Protestant missionaries to Bali. One of them, R. van Eck, disembarked at Buleleng in 1866, to be followed shortly afterwards by his colleague J. de Vroom. Beginning in 1871, the two of them published a series of studies which constituted important contributions to the philology and ethnology of Bali.[31] Then the year 1876 brought an article on local legal regulations by Van Eck in collaboration with the civil servant F. A. Liefrinck.[32] The latter was to devote to Bali an important part of his life and insight, and also of his engaging writings, among them "De rijstcultuur op Bali" (Rice Cultivation on Bali)[33] and "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali" (Contribution to the Knowledge of the Island of Bali),[34] both of which are products of meticulous field work.[35]

Liefrinck's publications, and those of the students of Bali writing in the preceding twenty or thirty years, were based on lengthy and close contact with the island and its people. Consequently such writers were able to distinguish various tendencies and nuances, for example in the pattern of the popular religion. They developed an eye for the special significance of the *desa* community and its

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culture, so different from that of the court sphere. The emerging picture of Bali became more varied and variegated than before, and richer in details – so much so that scholars sometimes threatened to be drowned in particulars and variants. Writers became more and more cautious with generalizations. As a result there developed a tendency towards monographic treatment – a tendency which we have to thank for such studies as Grader's description of Pĕmayun temple of the *banjar* of Tĕgal and Korn's of the village republic of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, both of which are included in part in this volume.[36]

In the years after Liefrinck's death Dutch civil servants continued to make important contributions to Balinese studies. I shall only mention, by way of example, H. J. E. F. Schwartz, who collected a large amount of material for a Balinese dictionary and for the study of the offering ceremonial,[37] and P. de Kat Angelino, who wrote studies on the priests and their ritual, on the craftsmen, and on *adat* law.[38]

Two of the authors represented in this volume, Korn and Grader, have carried on this tradition, while a third, Franken, continues that of his predecessor Van Eck. A fourth, Goris, might be considered a successor to Friederich, in view of his study of Sanskrit and Old Javanese. As more often happens in the world of learning, however, Goris is also sometimes the adversary of his predecessor, for example in refuting the misconception that the Balinese possessed the Indian *wedas*.[39] At the same time he is a representative of another branch of scholarship, that of archeological and epigraphic research, which particularly in this century has drawn Bali into its field of study alongside of Hindu Java. As a result our knowledge of Bali's early history has been enriched, and our vision of the development and nature of Balinese culture clarified, in particular as regards the relation between the non-indigenous and the indigenous elements amalgamated in it.

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Chapter Two

Balinese History and the Elements of Balinese Culture

I

Early History

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The Balinese themselves seek the origins of their culture outside their island. This is apparent in many of their legends. One of them, for example, the *Usana Bali*,[1] has the following to say about the earliest period of Balinese history. Sang Kulputih, 'the Holy Hermit of Majapahit', founded Pura Bĕsakih, Bali's chief temple, and officiated there as a priest, practising asceticism and reciting prayers. Therefore the god Pasupati decided to send his son and daughter to Bali and to transfer there a part of Mahameru, the mountain of the gods. On Bali the two children of the god were given the names Mahadewa and Dewi Danu, and the peak of Mahameru became the mountain of Gunung Agung.

After mentioning all kinds of religious rules and ceremonies in this connection, the *Usana Bali* recounts that Mayadanawa, the evil king of Bedahulu, disturbed the offering ceremonial. Sang Kulputih begged Mahadewa and Dewi Danu for assistance, and the latter called on the gods of Jambudwipa: Indra and their father Pasupati. Upon obtaining the promise of the gods' help, Mahadewa marched with the divine hosts against Mayadanawa. The latter was defeated after a fierce struggle, and following a long pursuit was brought to death. Any number of sacred places in the Balinese landscape are associated with these events. After the end of the struggle Pasupati himself came to Bali and set affairs in order, regulating the temple system and the like. Then he returned to Jambudwipa with his retinue.

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In this account not only the origins of Balinese religion are related, but also those of Balinese culture. It is the latter that is alluded to in the transfer of a part of Mahameru, which became Gunung Agung, Bali's highest and holiest mountain. For the Balinese this is not geography, but cosmology: the Mahameru is a symbol of the ordered universe, the cosmos. Hence one can follow the first European student of Bali, Friederich, in characterizing the tale as a popular description of the nature and origin of the institutions of Hindu religion and culture on Bali. That origin lay in Jambudwipa (that is to say India) and those institutions were brought by Hindu gods. The recipients, the Balinese, are represented in the legend as followers of an evil, godless demon ruler. There is one exception, however, the figure of Sang Kulputih, who might be called a forerunner of Hindu religion on Bali. He knows the proper forms of worship, and he has contact with the Hindu gods, who hear his prayers and send him help. But this Sang Kulputih also is non-Balinese in origin. The text states specifically that he "was originally from Majapahit", the renowned realm in eastern Java.

Such is the point of view of Bali's early history provided by Balinese tradition, as represented by the *Usana Bali*. For almost a century, however, the methods of modern critical research have been applied to the early history of Bali. To what extent do the results agree with the traditional point of view?

Our chief source of knowledge regarding early Balinese history consists of the royal edicts, inscriptions on stone or metal. These edicts tell about the rulers with their royal court and chancellery, the relation of the royal administration to the people in the *desas*, regulations in the religious field, measures regarding irrigation and taxation, and what not. Another source is that of archeological finds: images and artifacts.

Here it is not the place for a complete survey of the data from the inscriptions, which are in course of being edited and translated.[1] Instead we shall confine ourselves to a few comments on the society and the culture of early Bali, on the basis of epigraphic data in combination with archeological material.

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172 One encounters in even the oldest inscriptions and the oldest
101 images much that is reminiscent of India. Sanskrit, an Indian script, Buddhist religious formulas, and Brahmanic rites appear to have been known. The rulers – for example Kesarī – (*circa* 913 A.D.), the first of a dynasty called Warmadewa[3] – have Sanskrit names. There are images of the Hindu gods (a Çiwa, for example, and a few centuries later a four-headed Brahmā) and of characters from the great epics (for instance Arjuna, one of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*). The oldest dated inscription is from 882 A.D., and the oldest images are probably from the period of the eighth to the tenth century.[4]

177 In brief, the data now available are sufficient to convince
101 scholars in the field that Bali had its share in the great stream of Indian culture that washed over the southeast Asian mainland and Indonesia in the first centuries of our era. In this connection it is customary to speak of 'Hinduization' and 'Hindu' periods in the history of the lands concerned. These terms should not be understood as being restricted to Hinduism as a religion, however. The Buddhist temple Barabudur in central Java, for instance, is considered as one of the 'Hindu' monuments of early Java. 'Hindu', then, is in this connection a designation for everything related to the culture and religion of the India of that day. Java had such a Hindu period, called the Hindu-Javanese; Sumatra, Cambodia, and Burma likewise. And Bali also appears to belong in that list.

648 How this Hindu influence is to be explained cannot be said with
771 any certainty. It is clear that it had something to do with the com-
181 mercial relations which India maintained with China and other lands of the Far East. That trade brought knowledge of India and contact with and respect for Indian culture and religion to Sumatra and Java. However, the nature of the Hindu elements found in Indonesia makes it highly improbable that their diffusion can be explained solely or chiefly by trade. Rather, it is now assumed that Indonesian rulers wished to associate themselves with Indian culture, and for that purpose were able to attract Brahmanic priests, the representatives of Indian culture *par excellence*, to

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their courts. The priests gave to such an Indonesian ruler a Brahmanic consecration, and often a genealogy tracing back to the Indian gods or heroes. In that way they strengthened the ruler's position in the eyes of foreign traders. Moreover the Brahmins helped to model the court, chancellery, and administration after those of India.[1] Alongside these political and economic factors there were also religious factors of importance. The Indian Brahmins played a decisive rôle in the Hindu soteriological doctrines, and in Indonesia also they appeared in this rôle.[2]

The Balinese data fit into this general picture of Hinduization. Whether we may assume that trade was an initial link in the case of Bali is, however, an open question. Regarding the other Hinduized regions we know that there were a number of what were for those times important commercial centres where international trade was carried on. But there is no evidence of the sort for Bali in the early period, and later, roughly from the fifteenth century on, the data point in the opposite direction: Bali played what was at best a subordinate rôle in the international trade of the time.

If trade is to be ruled out, are we to think in terms of an indirect influence, *via* a neighbouring land that was already Hinduized? For the early period there is no evidence either way. From the eleventh century onwards, however, this possibility definitely needs to be taken into consideration, primarily on the basis of epigraphic data. The earliest inscriptions were written in Old Balinese (a language clearly the ancestor of present-day Balinese) interspersed with a great many Sanskrit terms. But shortly after 1000 A.D. the situation changed. From that time onwards inscriptions written in Old Javanese began to appear. From this it can be deduced that by then Old Javanese had become the language of court and administration on Bali. This would point towards a strong influence of the Hindu-Javanese realms and their culture on Bali. In keeping with this is the fact, substantiated by Javanese and Balinese inscriptions, that in that period a ruler of the Balinese dynasty of the Warmadewas was married to an

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eastern Javanese princess. She was considered of higher rank than her husband, as appears for example from the fact that she is mentioned before her husband in the edicts,[7] and that one of her sons bears titles corresponding to those in his mother's family, not to those in the family of his father, as normally would have been the case. Another son, Erlangga, became ruler of the eastern Javanese realm (1019–1042); his younger brothers (or half-brothers) ruled on Bali. A series of their edicts dating from the years 1022–1077 has been preserved.[8] Together, these facts constitute sufficient reason to assume that in the period at hand there were such close political ties between eastern Java and Bali that strong cultural influence would naturally follow.

It is, then, not absolutely necessary to explain the Hindu elements in the culture of Bali during and since that period by direct contact with India; they can at least as easily have been the result of an indirect influence, *via* the intermediary of Hindu-Javanese culture. But be that as it may, this period (*circa* 1000–1343) can be characterized as the Hindu-Balinese period of older Balinese history.

From the end of the eleventh century onwards Old Javanese became the usual language of the inscriptions, and this fact would seem to indicate a lasting cultural influence. Politically, however, the ties were by no means firm. There is reference to a successful expedition from eastern Java against Bali in 1284,[9] but not long afterwards inscriptions were again issued on Bali by rulers who showed no signs of political dependence on Java. The last of them, in 1337, bore the lengthy name of Aṣṭāsura-ratna bumi-bantĕn.[10]

Following this sketch of the results of modern research, let us return for a moment to the legend with which this chapter began. We can now better appreciate its relative truth. The *Usana Bali* presents the origins of what the author viewed as Balinese culture in a picture which, taken mythically, is not incorrect. The gods may in reality have been Brahmanic priests, and their forerunners Indian traders, but the tale retains a core of truth. And it presents a view of Bali's past which has fashioned the thinking of many a

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Balinese down to the present day, namely that Bali's culture and religion are essentially Hindu. 101 175 771

2

Majapahit and Bali

While in the preceding paragraphs it was necessary to speak of the ties between Bali and Java in fairly vague terms, in 1343 the situation changed. Roundabout that year the realm of Majapahit appears to have sent out an expedition whose results are summarized in the court chronicle as follows: "In 1343 Bali, against whose vile and base-hearted ruler an expedition had been sent, was overthrown and everyone slain [or: brought into subjection]."[11] Majapahit, the renowned eastern Javanese realm, was founded in 1293 and fell, after a long period of decline, around 1500.[12] According to the same chronicle,[13] the expedition against Bali was led by Gajah Mada, who from 1319 on had been *patih* (grand vizier or chief minister) over a part of the realm, and from 1331 to 1364 over the whole of it. This expedition changed the state of affairs on Bali for some time. It is evident from decrees issued in 1394 and 1398[14] that the island was governed as a dependency of Majapahit. That the influence was cultural as well as political is made clear in the court chronicle: "And the other island, Bali, conformed in all customs with the land of Java ..."[15] 175

It is known that with the beginning of Majapahit's decline in the early fifteenth century the dependencies were able to break away. On Bali, too, the political influence of Majapahit came to an end; not so, however, the cultural influence. That has continued to be felt down to the present day. Thus the period since 1343 might be described as the Javanese-Balinese, or more accurately still the Hindu-Javanese-Balinese.

Let us now consider what the Balinese historical tradition has to say regarding this Javanese conquest which appears to have been such an extremely important event in Balinese history. That tradition is embodied in chronicles such as the *Pĕmĕnchangah*[16] and the *Usana Jawa*, which are reminiscent of the chivalric romances of

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medieval Europe. One certainly should not expect critical, historical precision in them; however, the Balinese view of that period finds clear expression. The data may be summarized briefly as follows.[17]

During the reign of the second ruler of Majapahit (1309–1328), the king of Bedahulu,[18] Pasungrigih or Pasunggiri, was defeated by Arya Damar in conjunction with Gajah Mada. This did not mean the complete subjection of Bali, however; for that a second expediton was needed. According to one account, Gajah Mada put the new expedition in charge of Kapakisan, accompanied by a number of nobles from Majapahit. Kapakisan took along all the paraphernalia for a *kraton*, including his robes of office and a creese. The other version gives virtually the same account of this episode, but mentions Arya Damar as commander. After the rebellious elements – among whom the people of the mountain villages played an important rôle – had been brought to heel, Kapakisan established himself as ruler of Bali and founded a *kraton* at Samprangan (in the present-day region of Gianyar); the nobles of Majapahit became the peers of his realm. This according to the *Pĕmĕnchangah* account.[19] The *Usana Jawa*, however, recounts that after the second victory the ruler of Majapahit himself went to Bali. There he had to take up arms once more, this time against a certain Mrajadanawa, whom he defeated in Bedahulu. Then he transferred his *kraton* from Majapahit to Gelgel.

What the *Pĕmĕnchangah* and the *Usana Jawa* relate finds its continuation in the further history of Bali, both in the political-dynastic and in the cultural fields. The dynastic centre was probably transferred from Samprangan to Gelgel as early as the second or third generation,[20] and between 1650 and 1686 from there to nearby Klungkung,[21] which up to the present century has remained the residence of the *dewa agung*, at first in practice, but later usually only in theory, the chief ruler of Bali. The other princes and princelings traced their ancestry and their authority to the nobles of Majapahit who accompanied the Javanese commander on his expedition to Bali.

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That the authors of the chivalric romances had not only political and dynastic relations in mind is clear from the very wording of their accounts. Taking along the paraphernalia of a *kraton* and transferring the whole court are to their way of thinking the equivalent of transplanting a culture. Hence they looked upon Bali as a continuation of Majapahit from the cultural point of view as well. And this was not the fantastic idea of such authors, but reality, as appears from the following fact. The literature of the heyday of Majapahit lives on still on Bali; in fact a large part of it we know only from manuscripts which were copied out and preserved there. And not only were the Old Javanese writings preserved on Bali, but new ones were produced in the same style. The language used in them is not so much a descendant of Old Balinese as of Old Javanese, the so-called Middle Javanese.[22] These Old and Middle Javanese works are read and recopied even today, and still largely set the norm for what is officially recognized and appreciated as literature.[23]

The nature of the accounts referred to here differs from that of the *Usana Bali* as chivalric romances differ from myth. In the latter one can at best detect a sense which is in agreement with the general trend of Balinese history; in the former there are many details that can be compared with data from other sources: those in the inscriptions and chronicles, as we have seen, and later those in the Dutch East India Company documents. In one respect, however, there is agreement: in both, the origins of the realms and their culture are sought not in Bali, but outside – in the timeless Indian world of the gods, according to the myth, or in the eastern Javanese Majapahit of the time of Gajah Mada, according to the chivalric romances. We have already seen that the point of view of the myth is still alive. But alongside it that of the chivalric romances is also still valid. Whoever wants to count for anything on Bali, even in the present century, calls himself *wong Majapahit*, 'a man of Majapahit'. 'In the beginning was Majapahit'; what lies before it is a chaos of demons and villains about which the Balinese knows practically nothing.

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175 To the Balinese mind the two views are by no means mutually exclusive. Accordingly one of the finest European students of this Balinese literature believes that the author of the *Usana Bali* in his work:

> ... in which he set down an early indigenous tradition regarding the triumph of Hinduism on Bali, at the same time glorified the triumph of Hindu-Javanism over Hindu-Balinism ... In that case the *Usana Bali* is the *Usana Jawa*, with which it runs completely parallel, on a higher level; here Kulputih of Majapahit, there Gajah Mada and Arya Damar; here the Hindu gods with Mahadewa in the lead, there the forces of Majahapit under the king, the first *dewa agung* of Gelgel; here the triumph of Hinduism, there of Javanism; the inferior Bali is defeated in Mrajadanawa ...[34]

In all these sources the indigenous elements of Bali are of no significance. However, the question arises whether the serious student of Balinese history may rest content with such a view.

3

What History Does Not Tell

175 114 The chivalric romances referred to in the preceding section were written by court poets, and hence reflected the views of court circles. The *Usana Bali* likewise; its author, Nirartha (also called Pĕdanda Wau Rauh, and Dwijendra), was a Javanese Brahmin who probably came to the court at Gelgel around 1550, and there composed a large number of poetic works.[35]

That courtly culture has also set its stamp on modern historical research, since the data with which scholars have to work are, for the earliest period, primarily inscriptions, plus conclusions drawn from archeological findings. Both emanated from the sphere of the ruler, his priests, his chancellery, and his court. The ordinary man, the Balinese in his *desa*, is to be encountered in the inscriptions primarily as an object, to be governed, to be subjected to a regulation, to be granted a favour, to be assigned work on a temple. Hence everything we have learnt in the previous paragraphs regarding the history of Bali – the course of events and the conditions obtaining, as they can be deduced from the written sour-

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ces – has suffered from the same bias: it is the view of the court circles. 175 114

Now in later times the court circles found their cultural ideal in Majapahit: their orientation was Hindu-Javanese. And in the earlier period it was again the rulers who sought contact abroad. Hence the ruler and his retinue were inclined to emphasize the non-indigenous elements in Bali's culture and history, whether those elements were Hindu or Hindu-Javanese.

This view also colours the older Western accounts of Bali. Foreign visitors to the island went first to the court. Lintgensz., in 1597, talked with the king and his *patih*. Raffles, in 1815, likewise. Crawfurd, who visited Buleleng in 1814, repeatedly mentions Brahmins as sources of information for his description of Balinese religion, and Friederich does the same. The three men last mentioned were all acquainted with classical Hinduism. What they saw on Bali, in their contact with Brahmins and rulers, reminded them of it. True, they also saw many things that struck them as being anything but Hindu, but they saw such things through Hindu spectacles, and so had a distorted view. Raffles declared that:

> ... in Bali the Hindu faith, however blended with the local customs of the island, and however perverted and distorted in its application by a semi-barbarous people, is still the established religion of the country ...[36]

And Friederich stated that, after initial doubts, he became convinced of the Hindu character of the popular religion, adding:

> ... that only the small respect which the temples of the *sudras* enjoy from the priests has tarnished the objects of worship and corrupted the method of worship ...[37]

The Balinese religion, he felt, had originally been a duplicate of the Hindu, and what was not in keeping with the Hindu religion did not count. A similar opinion prevailed among other scholars for a time.

Eventually, however, students of Bali developed more of an eye for early Indonesian elements as against Hindu elements, the popular sphere as against the royal sphere. Research workers –

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among them the authors of the studies collected in this book – realized that in the peculiar culture which had developed on Bali the indigenous was at least as important as the imported, and that both parties had to be heard if a proper understanding of the culture as a whole was to be obtained.

How can one catch sight of the indigenous, early Indonesian culture of the Balinese, and study its development in the course of history? Four approaches may be mentioned.

(*a*) The inscriptions provide a large number of data on the *desa*, but, as has already been pointed out, they reveal it primarily as the ruler and his officials viewed it. How certain measures were adjusted to the popular sphere, for example, to what extent they were put in practice or remained Hindu theory or the pious wish of the ruler, seldom appears. The internal life of the *desa* usually remains vague. A great deal can be derived from the inscriptions,[28] but what is derived must be tested with other data.

(*b*) Prehistoric research goes back to the age before Hinduization had taken place. Hence it is an important means of getting to know Balinese life as it was before it had come in contact with imported elements. Such research is of particular significance for our knowledge of the popular and village sphere. For the royal sphere there are fairly early written sources, as was pointed out above, so there, at a rather early date, prehistory yields to history. For the popular sphere, however – in as far as it falls outside the written evidence of the royal sphere – the prehistorical period lasted longer; sometimes (in a number of isolated mountain villages, for instance) it continued until close to the present day.

(*c*) Cultural anthropology is also of value in this connection. By means of comparison with other Indonesian regions which had little or no contact with Hinduism or Hindu-Javanism it can often be estimated what conditions, customs, and objects are general Indonesian and so may have been a part of the culture of Mayadanawa's demonic followers mentioned in the *Usana Bali* or the "vile and base-hearted ruler" of the Majapahit court chronicle. For instance, the antithesis mountainwards and seawards,

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upstream and downstream, which is fundamental to Bali's culture and religion,[29] also appears to dominate the culture of the Ngaju Dyaks of southern Borneo.[30]

(*d*) In some parts of Bali there are still many cultural forms which – partly on the basis of data provided by one or more of the disciplines mentioned – may be assumed to perpetuate much of the earliest indigenous period. In this respect a number of mountain villages which have maintained their isolation, in many cases consciously, are of importance. In the mountain village Madenan, for instance, the older tribal organization into phratries is still reflected, so Grader believes, in the classification of the members of the *desa*.[31] And according to Korn the initiation rites known to us from other parts of the archipelago can be seen glimmering through customs in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan.[32]

In making use of this last source of knowledge regarding the indigenous Balinese culture scholars must constantly keep in mind, of course, that even in such villages time has never stood still, though a comparison to more rapidly changing areas may give that impression. The situation is rather that in these communities, although they have absorbed any number of later, Hindu-Balinese elements, the trained eye of the scholar can detect what are sometimes with certainty, sometimes with more or less probability early, indigenous elements.[33] This should be kept in mind, for instance, in perusing the fascinating second chapter of the picture album *Bali: Cults and Customs*,[34] in which modern photographs from villages considered traditional are used as illustrative of "The Ancient Indigenous Phase".

Working along these lines, one can detect an important number of early, indigenous elements in present-day Balinese culture.

From prehistoric research, for example, we learn that the so-called kettle drums spring from the bronze age. The most renowned Balinese example of such a kettle drum is the approximately man-tall 'moon' in Pura Pĕnataran Sasih, at Pejeng.

Another important detail is that the type and structure of the Balinese temples can most satisfactorily be explained as tracing

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back to megalithic culture. One of the scholars most at home in prehistoric Indonesia has defined the relation as follows:

> Now it is very remarkable, that the so-called Hindu temple of Bali can be traced back not to the temples of India but to the prehistoric megalithic sanctuaries. This appears at once from the fact, that in India the statue of the god is the centre of religious worship, whereas on the island Bali this is not the case. In India (and also on Hindu Java) the people worship f[or] i[nstance] the sungod Surya in the form of a statue, representing a man, sitting in a chariot drawn by seven horses. In the Balinese temples a stone seat is erected for Surya, onto which the godhead is supposed to descend in an inviisible form, when the priest invokes him. As to the general form we may say, that in India and in Hindu Java the temple is a house or hall, on Bali it is a square surrounded by a wall.
>
> In ancient Indonesia and in Polynesia the sanctuary was always an open space, usually surrounded by a wall and often paved with great stones. Here all religious ceremonies took place. Here the great nature gods, such as the god of the sun, of the mountains, of the sea etc. were invoked as well as the souls of the ancestors, whereupon they descended upon the megaliths which were erected for them. Sometimes these were simply upright stones, sometimes stone tables, consisting of a flat stone on top of some smaller stones, sometimes stone seats, consisting of a prostrate (female) stone and at the back as a support an erect (male) stone. These megaliths are the forerunners of the shrines which are found at the back of the last temple court of the Balinese temples; they are destined for Surya, the god of the Gunung Agung etc. In some temples up till to-day the simple megalith monuments are still found to be preserved.
>
> Ancestor worship played an important role among the ancient Indonesians. Their souls descended onto the megaliths, for example onto the stone seats. As, however, the chiefs and the oldest men of the village were supposed to represent the ancestors they had the right to sit down on these stone seats at ceremonies and meetings. In this way groups of similar seats, as still exist for example at Gèlgèl, are the prehistorical forerunners of the present-day "balé agung".
>
> In the old Polynesian sacred places there was often on one side a stepped pyramid, consisting out of two or more terraces, built out of unhewn stones and growing smaller as it rose higher. ... On Bali several places are found consisting of a square which is either enclosed or not, having one or more stepped pyramids. They probably represent the celestial mountain in the same way as the multiple roofs of the Balinese Meru's. This type of sanctuaries is found especially in villages where the Hindu influence has been less intensified and where the old animistic conceptions are still surviving.[3]

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Various extant Balinese temples are still built in terraces, which make the whole temple resemble a 'stepped pyramid', as in the case of Pura Bĕsakih and of Pura Kĕhĕn at Bangli.

Some of the other early, indigenous cultural elements may be summarized in brief as follows:[36]

- wet-rice cultivation, with everything it involved in the way of irrigation, organization, tunnel-building, and aqueduct-construction;
- the breeding of game-cocks and the holding of cock-fights, which even today retain something of the ritual significance of a blood-sacrifice, though this aspect is now obscured by passionate betting;
- wood-construction, especially of small pavilions (*bales*) in many forms;
- crafts such as iron-working and bronze-working, red and blue dyeing, and weaving;
- in the fields of music and the dance: the *gamĕlan sĕlunding* with iron keys and the bamboo orchestra (*angklung*), temple dances for the women and girls and war dances for the men, and the *kechak* dance, essentially a male choir accompanying the dancing of girls in a state of trance (*sangyang*);
- the system of family, village, and regional temples[37] and the rituals performed there;
- the offerings, with their often-complicated mixture of ingredients and their decorations, cuttings, and plaitings in countless varieties;
- a large share of the folk tales handed down in oral tradition;
- and, by no means least of all, the language, which, with its structure, must be considered an autochthonous cultural possession.

By way of contrast with these items, a list may be made of a number of cultural elements of Hindu or Hindu-Javanese origin:

- the central authority of the ruler, and his position as representative of the divine forces;
- the Brahmin *pĕdanda* and his ritual;[38]
- many of the religious writings, with their mystical speculations;[39]
- cremation;
- the burning of widows (formerly customary in the higher classes, abolished since early in the twentieth century under pressure from the Netherlands East Indies government);
- most of the products of literary art in palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontars*), and in conjunction with them countless motifs for tales and dramas;
- an important enrichment of the vocabulary and the system of 'vocabularies of courtesy';[40]
- the calendar according to the Hindu (or Hindu-Javanese) system;[41]

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the shadow play (wayang), which reached Bali from Java, and in a Javanese form;
the percussion orchestra (*gamelan*), also probably from Java;
the masked dance (*topeng*);
the creese, the dagger-like weapon that plays no less a rôle in the life of a Balinese than in that of a Javanese;[42]
the caste system in its Balinese form (*triwangsa*), regarding which see also the essay on the blacksmiths included in this volume;[43]
and many motifs in the plastic arts, the applied arts, and architecture.

4

Modern Balinese History: A Cultural Mosaic

An analysis such as the one above can serve to give more definite colour and shape to the general categories 'early indigenous', 'Hindu-Balinese', and 'Hindu-Javanese'. A culture, however, is an integrated entity; the elements live and move in conjunction with each other. Hence the analytic résumé given above should be followed by a scrutiny of these elements' integration, the cultural mosaic.

The period after the end of Majapahit's colonization and rule of Bali, approximately the years from 1500 to 1900, was of vast importance for that integration. The many conflicts between rulers and vassals and between vassals among themselves were sometimes of political, but rarely of cultural, significance. Nor is there any evidence of important influences from outside. The Dutch East India Company did not maintain any intensive contact with Bali, nor did the island come into any direct touch with Moslem spheres of influence. Hence in those four centuries Bali was left to itself to absorb the earlier influences from elsewhere. A process of interpenetration developed, with the result that the difference between the royal sphere and the popular sphere became largely one of gradation. The evidences of the process are to be found throughout Bali, though it is often hard to determine exactly how, when, and to what extent the various components contributed to the pattern existing today.

Geographically, central Bali is the part of the island where the Hindu-Javanese influence can today be detected most clearly.

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In the Gelgel period there must have been a sort of feudal system: the rulers awarded lands to the peers of the realm as apanages. Most of those lands were apparently located in fertile central Bali, which was probably populous even then.

The 'land north of the mountains' (Buleleng), Karangasĕm, and the central Balinese mountain areas stayed outside the reach of the system; even more so did Jĕmbrana. The power of the rulers was uncertain in those regions (in various of which, as the reader will remember, resistance had been strongest at the time of the Majapahit expeditions).[44] Hence the ruler and his officials interfered much less in the *desa* system, with the result that many institutions in those areas were preserved in an older form.[45] The inhabitants there are sometimes referred to as *Bali-aga*, 'original Balinese'. The term is somewhat misleading, for it might give the impression that they are free of Hindu influences, which is not the case. Old Balinese edicts dating from the tenth century have been found in mountain *desas* such as Sĕmbiran, Tĕrunyan, and Dausa[46] – edicts dealing with those villages themselves or other places in the vicinity. This fact points towards the existence of an influence from the older Hindu-Balinese royal sphere. The later, Javanese-Balinese influences, however, have been much weaker in these mountain regions than in the region of the great apanages. The *Bali-aga*, then, should not be characterized as 'original Balinese', but as 'non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese'.[47]

The period of relatively undisturbed development came to an end first in northern Bali. In 1849 that part of the island was forced to recognize Dutch suzerainty, and in 1882 it was placed under the direct administration of the Netherlands East Indies government. The southern Balinese principalities followed in the first years of the twentieth century. Bali was made a part of the federal state of East Indonesia in 1946, and together with the rest of the state was incorporated in the unitary Republic of Indonesia in August, 1950.

Let us, on the basis of a few clear-cut examples, now attempt to form a picture of the interplay of the elements of Balinese culture.

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177 545 (*a*) The Hindu-Balinese and Javanese-Balinese rulers sometimes attempted to attach early indigenous classes and crafts to their courts. To maintain themselves there members of such groups then attempted to defend their early indigenous rights and positions in the way customary in the Hindu and Hindu-Javanese courtly sphere on Bali. This was for example the case with the blacksmiths, about which Goris writes below.[48]

177 621 (*b*) Alongside the *desa*, membership of which is restricted to the descendants of its founders, older villages also have the *banjar*,[49] which organization includes all the married male residents of the village. The *banjar* is charged with all kinds of secular activities, in contrast to the *desa*, which has rather more a religious task. Moreover the *banjar* can be classified as belonging to the *kĕlod* sphere and the *desa* to the *kaja* sphere – with all the connotations attached to that antithesis.[50] The *banjar* occupies itself with the purification of the *desa* territory, especially in the magical sense, and with the care of the dead, either by means of burial or of cremation. In traditional villages the *banjar* is subordinate to the *desa*.

In the apanages of central Bali, where the *desa* came under the influence of the royal administration, the relationship gradually shifted. The authorities took to demanding contributions from the villages for their expensive cremation celebrations. It was only natural to do that *via* the *banjar* organization. The *banjar*, which had traditionally had a secular task, also formed the point of contact in the village sphere for all sorts of administrative measures of the ruler. The representatives of the royal administration began to take over control of it. And when cremation became the custom in the village sphere as well, the *banjar* was the most logical institution to organize within the *desa* the mutual assistance needed for the purpose. Hence the *banjar* grew in importance and finally outstripped the *desa*.

We see, then, the early indigenous *banjar* obtaining a Hindu task, as far as cremation is concerned, and a shift in the village organization as a result of contact with the royal sphere.

177 764 (*c*) The cremation of the dead is still considered as one of the typically Hindu phenomena on Bali. Within the whole of Bali-

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nese culture it has come to fill the same function which burial or exposure, the early, indigenous methods of caring for the dead, had in older times. The tendency to take over usages from the royal sphere helped cremation to penetrate deeper and deeper into the popular sphere. But as a result cremation seems eventually to have incorporated non-Hindu elements, thereby changing in its nature. Any number of details point in this direction. In India the cremation itself, which purifies the soul of earthly matter, is the supreme moment, but on Bali as soon as the body has been given over to the flames interest usually flags, with many guests leaving and the mourning son taking off his formal attire. The emphasis falls much more strongly on the carrying of the body out of the house and the magnificent procession to the place of cremation, with many offerings and the like being taken along. In contrast to the simplicity characteristic of cremation in India, there is usually a great deal made of it on Bali. It is a tremendous celebration, in which one tries to surpass one's neighbours. In Tabanan not long ago a cremation was held that cost seventy-five thousand *rupiahs*[51] (at a time that the rate of exchange was approximately thirty-one *rupiahs* to the pound sterling).

The Hindu form of caring for the dead, then, has in most cases, supplanted the indigenous forms, but in doing so it in turn seems to have taken on a number of traits which were originally foreign to it.[52]

(*d*) The chief temple on Bali is Pura Bĕsakih, on the southwestern slope of Gunung Agung, the island's highest mountain, which for a large portion of Bali lies in the most favourable, most sacred direction of the compass. The preference for this direction is related to a classificational world picture that dates from the distant past.[54] Hence it is probable that the place was holy, and served as a sanctuary, even in early times. This is confirmed by the terrace construction of the temple, which – as we have seen – is typical for the style of the prehistoric sanctuaries. In keeping with this is the fact that the titles and names of the gods revered in the temple are pure Old Balinese, showing no Javanese or Sanskrit elements.

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175 792 In historical times Wira Dalĕm Kesari is mentioned as the founder of the temple. In him we can probably see the Kesari Warmadewa of an inscription dating from around 913 A.D.[15] In that day the temple may have been a Buddhist sanctuary, and at the same time the state temple of the Warmadewa dynasty. Even up to the present century the rule has been observed that only a Buddhist *pĕdanda* accompanying the ruler as his court priest may enter Pura Bĕsakih. Later the founder of the dynasty of Gelgel was brought into a special relation with Mahadewa, the deity of Pura Bĕsakih.[16] Two temple charters dating from around 1450 probably owe their origin to that prince. Since that time the deified dead of the dynasty have been worshipped in Bĕsakih, and the temple has thus become the royal ancestral sanctuary, first of Gelgel and later of Klungkung. It is, then, not surprising that a charter also mentions *merus*[17] for five rulers of the Gelgel dynasty.

The Hindu trinity is also associated with the temple of Bĕsakih.[18] Such a connection with the highest gods of the Hindu pantheon is quite in keeping with the important place of the temple in the Balinese world picture.[19]

It can be seen, then, that various elements of Balinese culture and religion have contributed to the complex of phenomena related with Bĕsakih temple as it is today.

(*e*) The *Usana Bali*, discussed above, was a product of the royal sphere, written at the Javanized court at Gelgel. A copy of it, however, is to be found among the sacred manuscripts of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, a traditional *desa* with an *adat* like that of the *Bali-aga*, the non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese. Moreover the *Usana* considers Balinese religion and culture as imported from India. But when one scrutinizes the religious festivals and ceremonies listed in it, one wonders how Hindu gods could have imported elements which appear to have been early indigenous rather than Hindu.

545 198 (*f*) As a final point reference may be made to the 'interpreters' on the Balinese stage. When the hero and heroine in some *genres* of Balinese drama recite their parts they do so in a sort of Java-

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nized Balinese which is nearly incomprehensible to onlookers from among the ordinary people. The latter are only able to enjoy the dialogue thanks to a pair of interpreters. According to their rôle in the play these interpreters are no more than servants, but to judge from their function within the whole they might better be called main characters. Apart from their interpreting they are virtuosi in the contriving and committing of buffoonery. Their pantomiming, clowning, and acrobatic feats, and their duels in repartee, arouse constant gales of hilarity. Their primary function, however, is to mediate between two worlds: *via* them the ordinary man shares in the dramatic art of the royal sphere. Their rôle is in a way symbolic of the interplay of cultural elements we have been considering in this section, further examples of which will be encountered in the following chapters.

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Chapter Three

Patterns of the Cosmic Order

I

An Ordered World

A Balinese retains his sense of direction in practically every circumstance, even inside the house: he will invite a guest to sit in the 'northern' chair. He is always oriented, whether the word is taken in the strict sense of knowing his directions or in the broader one of being able to determine his place in life. Actually, the two senses coincide on Bali: the points of the compass are not only important geographically, but also in connection with the world picture and the world view. If his sense of direction is temporarily impaired for one reason or another, for example as a result of a fast trip in a car, a Balinese sometimes feels uncomfortable, and incapable of working.[1]

All this is the expression of an awareness that dominates Balinese life and thought. The universe is conceived as arranged according to certain elementary principles of classification. Only as a result of those principles is the world an ordered whole, a cosmos, instead of a formless, void chaos. Just as in social matters one must know the usages of *adat* and the rules of the vocabulary of courtesy in associating with superiors and inferiors, in matters of religious life and activity one must be familiar with the proper principles of order. Only then can an individual know his place and attempt to arrange his life so that it is in harmony with the cosmic order, or at least does not run counter to it. A Balinese tries to imitate the cosmic order, and so to give that order form in his own life, convinced that in such a way he will be able to obtain greater control over the complex of supernatural forces which dominate all of life.

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Hence all sorts of details regarding the way of life of a Balinese can help to provide an insight into the conception he has (or had in the past) of the cosmos. Let us, then, consider some of those patterns and classifications. 772

2

Cosmic Antipodes[3]

In various parts of the Indonesian archipelago directions are indicated by words meaning 'in the direction of the interior' and 'in the direction of the sea'. Such words have in most cases also come to serve the purpose of indicating the directions of the compass. The Indonesian word *sĕlatan*, which is related to *sĕlat*, or 'strait', 'narrows', now means 'south', 'southern', 'southerly'. It can only have obtained that meaning in a territory like Malaya. The Macassarese of southwestern Celebes, living on the west coast of a peninsula whose vertical axis runs north and south, use the word *raya*, related to terms for 'interior', to mean 'east', 'eastern', 'easterly'. Their Buginese neighbours on the east coast of the peninsula use the etymologically related *aja* for 'west', 'western', 'westerly'. And the equivalent *daa* of the South Torajas in central Celebes means 'north', 'northern', the direction of the upper reaches of the north-to-south running Sa'dan River, which is the main artery of their territory.[4] 828 772 192

Something of the same sort can be found on Bali in the antithesis between *kaja* and *kĕlod*. *Kaja* is composed of the two elements *kĕ*, 'towards', and *aja* (compare the Buginese word in the preceding paragraph), and so means 'in the direction of the interior', 'upstream'. *Kĕlod* consists of *kĕ* and *lod* (compare the Indonesian word for sea, *laut*), and hence indicates 'in the direction of the sea', 'downstream'. In southwest Celebes the significance of *raya–aja* depended on the point of vantage, and the same is true of *kaja* and *kĕlod* on Bali. In southern Bali the sea is to the southwest, south, and southeast, hence *kĕlod* should be interpreted as meaning 'south', 'southern', 'southerly'. The interior, the upper reaches of the rivers, is to the north, and *kaja* consequently becomes 'north',

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'northern'. In northern Bali the terms indicate exactly the opposite directions: there *kaja* is 'south(ern)' and *kĕlod* 'north(ern)'.

Now, as was seen in the first section of Chapter One, the central mountain range dominates the Balinese landscape. In many places the surrounding sea and the centrally located mountains are a pair of visibly contrasting realities. The antithesis *kaja–kĕlod*, consequently, is not only a horizontal one, but also a vertical one. *Kaja* is associated primarily with the mountains. There are the large lakes with their reservoirs of fertility-bringing water. One expects all good things from the direction of the mountains. And from the concept 'mountains' to the concept 'heaven' is but a small step. Hence *kaja* has acquired the connotation of 'favourable', 'divine', 'propitious': everything related to the upper world is associated with it.

Its antipode is *kĕlod:* everything earthly, everything unfavourable and ominous, everything demonic – in brief, the nether world and its forces. For the eastern half of central Bali the island of Nusa Pĕnida, to the south or southeast, is the lair of all evil forces, illnesses, and troubles. There reigns 'the great lord with the fangs' (Jĕro Gĕde Mĕchaling), the cholera demon, for example.[4] Along the coast of Bali ceremonies are held regularly in an attempt to ward off these evil influences. There is, for instance, the *nangluk mĕrana* held for the region of Gianyar at new moon in the sixth month (thus in December) on the beach near Lĕbih. (Lĕbih lies on a direct line from the capital of Gianyar to the central point of Nusa Pĕnida.)[5] There is a similar ceremony in nearby Kramas.[6]

This does not exhaust the antitheses classified with this pair of terms. The relationship of *kaja* to *kĕlod* is the same as that of man to woman, the waxing moon to the waning moon, day to night, life to death, the *desa* to the *banjar*, and so forth. The east, where the sun comes to life each morning, and the west, where it dies, also form such an antithesis. It is possible that it was originally not linked to the antithesis *kaja–kĕlod*, but the two are now very closely connected. This combination is also to be found elsewhere in Indonesia, for example among the Ngaju Dyaks of southern

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Borneo.[7] The combination *kaja*-east is consequently the most sacred location in the Balinese world picture. For a large part of Bali, Gunung Agung (which, it will be recalled, was according to the *Usana Bali* a part of the Indian mountain of the gods, Mahameru), with Bali's chief temple on its flank,[8] has that location. The unfavourable antipode is formed by *kĕlod*-west.

It is, of course, impossible to mention every detail of this system in a general survey such as the present one. There are a number of local variations. In the mountain areas, for instance, the proximity of a prominent peak may attract the orientation *kaja* towards it, in deviation from the general orientation.

The elements in each of the two series form combinations with one another: they are in essence alike, and hence interchangeable. Each series can also be expanded, and concepts which usually fall outside the bipartite system may sometimes be drawn into it, as appears from the following. In various traditional villages such as Madenan and Kubutambahan the meetings of the *desa* association are held according to the Hindu-Balinese lunar-solar chronology, and those of the *banjar* according to the thirty-week year of the Javanese-Balinese calendar.[9] This can be explained by the fact that, as was pointed out above,[10] the *banjar* was drawn more closely into the Javanese-Balinese royal sphere than the *desa*. There is no trace of evidence that the Javanese-Balinese chronology is generally unfavourable or profane in character: throughout Bali hundreds of sacred festivals for the powers of the upper world are dated according to it. But where the two systems occur alongside one another they appear to become involved in the cosmic antithesis almost automatically: then the Hindu-Balinese chronology is said to 'have to do with religion', while the Balinese-Javanese is said to be 'for mortals'. Something of the same sort can be seen when the ingredients of offerings are distinguished according to their purpose: for offerings to the upper world the leaves on which ingredients are placed are turned with the light side upwards, for those to the nether world with the dark side up.[11]

This duality, and the antipodal mode of thinking accompanying it, dominate not only an entity but its constituent parts. Such a

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771 part is seen as a sort of secondary entity to which the system of
772 bipartition can be applied. Hence for elements of the nether world a distinction can be made between the unfavourable aspect of death and the favourable one of fertility: the latter, though actually a *kĕlod* force, becomes associated with those of *kaja*. Or in the sphere of magic, which belongs to *kĕlod*, a distinction is made between the black magic of the witch Rangda, which is a sort of '*kĕlod* squared', and the white magic of the *barong*, which has *kaja* traits. The same is true of the servant and his lord, the disciple and his master.[12] As will be seen below,[13] a priest classified as *kĕlod* makes the offerings for the host of demons, but those for their rulers are made by the Brahman priests, the representatives of the *kaja* sphere. These and similar details make the system less lucid in its elaborations and ramifications. But they do not affect the validity of its general principles.

772 All this is of vast significance for the whole culture of Bali, and
823 in particular for religious life and activity. Things that belong primarily or secondarily to the forces of the upper world are brought in connection with the mountains or with the east, and if one seeks contact with them one turns in that direction. The *kaja* or eastern part of the temple is dedicated to them. Things associated primarily or secondarily with the nether world are thought to be *kĕlod* or to the west, together with offerings and ceremonies of that type. The word *kĕbaktian*, or cult, is used for both groups, with a further distinction being made between 'upward' and 'downward' cult or between the invocation of gods and of demons. In the former contact is sought with the forces of the upper world, and the word 'worship' may be used. In the second the powers of the nether world are placated, and the word 'exorcism' may be applied. The offerings of the first sort can be taken back and eaten by the person offering them, but not those of the second sort. Whence comes a Balinese adage regarding a handsomely clad but miserly rich man: he is 'like a plant offering – it may be finely decorated, but there's nothing you can take home with you'. Such a plant offering, namely, is offered to the forces of the earth and the nether world.

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3

The Unity of the Antipodes

In the preceding section the two antipodal elements of the Balinese cosmos were for clarity's sake set over against each other as separate entities. In reality, however, they cannot be conceived of as separate. They are complements, created to form one entity together. It is that completion, that unity of antipodes, which is constantly striven for.

This can be seen, for example, in the sacrificial feast before 'bringing the land to silence', Nyĕpi.[14] Sacrifices are made to demons at that time, but an altar is also erected for the sun god. Likewise, at the Galungan festival[15] offerings are made to the souls in the *kĕlod* sphere, but also to those in the *kaja* sphere; at the burial ground, but also in the household temple.[16] The festival might be described as an All Souls' Day on which one also celebrates All Saints'. In the temples the powers of both categories are combined in a single complex. The temple of Tĕrunyan, for example, has three parts, with one of them, the most *kaja*, called Pura Gunung Agung, and another, the most *kĕlod*, called Pura Maospait (probably equivalent to Majapahit), a name that belongs in the same category as the sea and the west.[17]

All this also implies that worship and exorcism are not mutually exclusive, but complementary. The *kĕlod* forces are undesirable: that is apparent from their classification in the category of death. But the world picture is inconceivable without them, just as inconceivable as life without death.

Preoccupation with the unity of life can also be detected in the folk tales regarding the Half One.[18] These tales cannot be viewed as myths in the technical sense of the word – as they can be in other places, where they appear to be considered among the initiation myths.[19] But there is no doubt that the motif has a significance on Bali in the connection under consideration here. This is confirmed by the tale's popularity, which is apparent from the fact that it exists in a number of versions. All the versions tell about a boy born with only half a body – often because his

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181 mother has transgressed a taboo, has 'gone outside the order of
538 things'. His father is usually a supernatural being. When he has grown up, the Half One makes an attempt to become whole. He sets out to seek his fortune, and after having gone in an easterly or *kaja*-easterly direction and having climbed upward, all the while experiencing many adventures, he discovers his father or another divine figure (whose nature and function will be considered below).[20] The Half One explains to him his wish to become whole. Sometimes he also asks for instruction, for example regarding the proper rites for offerings in connection with farming. His wishes are granted, and he returns to earth as a whole person, resplendent with beauty, usually to find a lovely bride, and often also a kingdom.

181 In the same way that personal happiness is reserved only for the
812 complete person in the tale, all prosperity in this world is reserved solely for those who take both parts of the cosmos into consideration, seeking after a proper attitude towards both of them.

4

Tripartite Division

772 The Balinese countryside lies closed in between the mountains and the sea. Between the upper and the nether world lies the *madyapada* or intermediate sphere, also called the *mĕrtyapada*, the world of mortals. Between the gods and the demons is man. Between birth and death comes life.

The transition from a bipartite division to such a tripartite one is not clearcut. The intermediate element shares in both the extremes, and the two touch each other in that element. It can be viewed as dissolving into the two parts, in which case there is a bipartition, but it can also be given autonomy and a function of its own, in which case the bipartition becomes tripartition. Perhaps the difference may be described in this way: the bipartite division emphasizes only the cosmos while in the tripartite division the human element in the cosmos, the microcosmos within the macrocosmos, is also emphasized.

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Let us now consider a few triads in which the tripartite division is given form.

(*a*) In the village temple system the temple of the dead (*pura dalĕm*) is in principle located to *kĕlod* or *kĕlod*-west of the village centre. Around this temple, the first to be built when a new *desa* is founded, the care for the souls that are not yet purified is concentrated. Whenever someone is seriously ill an attempt can be made to mollify the deity of the temple of the dead by presenting offerings and pronouncing an exorcizing formula to the ailing person's soul, which is considered to be already in waiting there: 'Please come home quickly, for we have asked the deity for you.' When a person dies he is usually buried for the time being; then when the time has come for cremation the first step is that of asking the deity of the temple of the dead to release the soul. Next the dead person is addressed at the burial ground: 'Be so good as to come home. The ceremonies for you will be fulfilled completely. You no longer have to serve, for we have asked the deity for you.' When the body is disinterred Mother Earth is asked to yield up the corpse while an offering is made.[21]

By means of cremation the soul is purified and joins the group of deified beings.[22] These beings are worshipped by the *desa* in the navel temple (*pura pusĕh*). In the nature of things it lies to the *kaja* or *kaja*-east of the village. The village community finds its expression in the assembly-hall temple (*pura bale agung*) or *desa* temple, which is customarily located at the centre of the village. In this way the community of mortals finds itself between the group of impure, ominous dead and that of the purified, salutary, deified dead, exorcising the first category and worshipping the second.

(*b*) The same principle dominates the lay-out of a dwelling compound. The household temple where the deified ancestors of the family are honoured again lies to the *kaja*-east, the refuse heap to *kĕlod*, and the dwelling between the two. The ground plan of a royal palace (*puri*) is similar. The southwest court of the *puri* of Gianyar, for example, is open to everyone; its intersticed walls serve more or less to emphasize that fact. More to the north and

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342 349 east lie the private courts of the ruler, his family, and his retinue. In the northeast corner is the household temple.[23]

792 342 (*c*) In the inner court, the part of the temple dedicated to the 'upward service', there are various pagodas (*merus*) – representatives, as their name suggests, of Mahameru, the mountain of the gods (thus, one might say, miniature Gunung Agungs). These structures are also tripartite, but in this case the tripartition is vertical. The stone base rests on a serpent and a tortoise, both of them nether-world animals. The multiple roofs of dark *duk*, the fibre of the sugar palm, represent heaven, which is conceived of as having various levels. The middle section consists of a small wooden chamber, the contact place for the gods when they visit this world.

(*d*) Closely parallel is the design of the *bade*, the towerlike structure in which the body of a member of a noble caste is taken to the place of cremation. The lower part, the part just above the carrying poles, is again characterized by a serpent and a tortoise. The upper edge of it displays a mountain motif, indicating the realm of the earth. Above that is a pavilion representing the atmosphere, the place for the dead person, who no longer belongs to the earth, but not yet to heaven. The pavilion is supported by Garuda, the bird of heaven. The multiple roofs, like the roofs of the *meru*, are a replica of the heavens; the number of roofs depends on the caste of the deceased person.[24]

826 (*e*) The tripartite division also plays an important part in the concept of the relation between man, as the microcosmos, and the ordered universe, the macrocosmos, a concept which is of very great importance in Balinese mystic contemplation and soteriological doctrine. The feet of man not only have contact with the earth in the literal sense, but also figuratively, in a classificational sense, with the nether world. Man's head belongs to the upper world; the fontanel is the place where the deity is thought to descend. The trunk, and more especially the heart, represents the intermediary element.

826 764 These notions find expression at any number of ceremonies, for example at the ritual purification which formed a part of the

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consecration of a ruler at Gianyar.[25] Several animals were moved along the body of the ruler who was being consecrated, in order to 'bite away' impurity. The Çiwaitic priest, the *pĕdanda Siwa*, moved a drake along the fontanel of the ruler's head, his Buddhist colleague, the *pĕdanda Boda*, moved a cock along the arms and his upper body, and the *sĕngguhu*, a non-Brahman priest, moved a small boar along his legs and feet. There was a similar division of functions in the sprinkling of holy water over his fontanel, his body between the head and the navel, and everything under his navel. The cosmological significance of these three parts of the ruler's body runs parallel with that of the officiants. The *pĕdanda Siwa* belongs completely to the upper world, and the *sĕngguhu* to the nether world; the *pĕdanda Boda*, though a member of the *kaja* group, approaches the opposite category.[26]

Such a tripartite division is not an absolute rule at purification ceremonies. In the case at hand it was intended to demonstrate the all-embracing character of the consecration: every category of forces imaginable worked together to remove every possible form of impurity and evil. This all-embracing character was also emphasized in other details, as will be seen below.

(*f*) A triad of another sort is also brought in connection with this tripartite division – namely the Hindu trinity. This trinity, like the gods of the three village temples mentioned above, can be invoked at the threefold shrine where one also honours one's ancestors.[27] The Hindu trinity is moreover associated with Pura Bĕsakih, as we have already seen.[28] Pura Bĕsakih consists of a complex of temples. The central sanctuary is associated with Mahadewa and the colour is white. On a line with it are two other temples: to the northwest and higher up Pura Batu Madĕg, associated with Wisnu and black, and to the southeast and lower Pura Dangin Krĕtĕg, associated with Brahma and red.[29] The directions north and south are more usual for Wisnu and Brahma than northwest and southeast. Mahadewa is a name of Siwa (like Iswara, Maheswara or Mahesora, Rudra, and Batara Guru; the first four names can also serve to indicate not only Siwa as chief god but also certain of his emanations or aspects). On Bali Siwa

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779 is the main member of the trinity. In this triad, then, the third
792 element is less the linking, intermediary member than it is the higher, synthesizing unity of which the other two are individual aspects.

772 The three colours mentioned are often to be found on Bali as
822 symbols of the trinity. The clay walls of compounds, for instance, are often painted red, black, and white, and there is a sort of amulet made out of threads of the three colours that is put on one's arm at all sorts of ceremonies. Another representation that often occurs is with letters. In the speculations on the sacred syllable *aum*, the three sounds composing the syllable are brought in connection with the three gods and the groups of forces associated with each of them in the tripartite system. The *a* belongs to Brahma, the *u* to Wisnu, and the *m* to Iswara or Siwa. The *triaksara*, the triad of characters representing these sounds, thus becomes the briefest formula possible for the three categories of this pattern of cosmic order.

The gods, colours, and cardinal points mentioned here are also to be found in the fourfold division considered in the following section.

5

Four or Eight Around the Centre

772 It has already been mentioned[30] that the east can be considered in the *kaja* category, and the west in the *kĕlod;* the combinations *kaja*-east and *kĕlod*-west proved to play an important rôle in the bipartite and tripartite divisions. Often, however, each of the four directions has an independent function of its own; with each of them in turn all sorts of matters can be classified. Hence there is also a fourfold pattern of the cosmic order. The centre, moreover, is the synthesis, the higher unity, and if it is also counted in the system the fourfold division becomes a fivefold one. This fourfold or fivefold division is always on the horizontal plane; the ambivalence of *kaja* and *kĕlod*[31] does not seem to play a rôle here. The most characteristic traits of the division are:

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Direction	Divinity	Colour	Day (of the five-day week)	Number
East	Iswara	White	Umanis	5
South	Brahma	Red	Paing	9
West	Mahadewa	Yellow	Pon	7
North	Wisnu	Black	Wage	4
Centre	Siwa	Varicoloured	Klion	8

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Though this system has some points in common with the bipartite and tripartite divisions, it is not to be looked upon as merely an expansion of them. It has a function of its own, for example in augury: with it a fighting cock's chances can be calculated on the basis of its colour, the day of the match, and its place in the cockpit.

It also plays an important rôle in the offering ritual. For example, it determined the arrangement of the altars and officiants and the composition and ingredients of many of the offerings at the royal consecration mentioned above, as may be seen from the following brief description.

Pavilions (*pĕmiosans*) had been built at the centre and on the east, north, west, and south side of the *puri* square for the officiating priests. For this occasion one *pĕdanda Siwa* officiated for each of the four directions. (To judge from similar occasions it would seem that a *pĕdanda Boda* is preferred for the south if possible.) In the centre sat a *pĕdanda Siwa* and a *pĕdanda Boda*. The *pĕdanda Siwa* in the centre was the leader of the ceremony. The place of the *pĕdanda Boda* was to the right and the south (*kĕlod*) of the *pĕdanda Siwa* on a *pĕmiosan* erected close to the centre of the square. Both these priests sat with their faces turned to the east. At a distance, to the east, south, west, and north of the centre, sat their four colleagues, each oriented towards his own direction. The *pĕmiosans* were adorned with curtains in the colours belonging to their directions; the curtains for the centre were varicoloured (*manchawarna*, the combination of the four colours of the directions).

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For the centre and each of the four directions there was a *sanggar tawang*, a structure used for offerings to the celestial gods. It is a platform on eight fairly high posts, surrounded by a railing and

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only open on the officiant's side; it is divided into three sections. The five *sanggar tawangs* stood in front of their *pĕdandas*. The decoration of the *sanggar tawang* in the centre was as follows: the middle section had white and yellow curtains and a white and yellow parasol; the section to the left (from the officiant's point of view) had black curtains and a black parasol, while in the section to the right the curtains and the parasol were red.

On the *sanggar tawang* lay eight sets of offerings with their appurtenances, including the so-called *chatur* offerings, a black one in the left section, a red one in the right section, and a yellow and a white one in the middle section. Offerings for the lords of the demons were arranged on the ground in front of each of the five *sanggar tawangs*. (The centre and the four directions each have their own group of demons [*bĕbutan, butabala*] under its own ruler [*butaraja*].) Among these offerings was the Yamaraja offering, a sieve covered with a white *kain* and containing the flour of white, black, yellow, and red rice, in which the figure of Yamaraja had been drawn. Yama is the god of death and the rajah of hell.

Slightly to the south of the *pĕmiosan* of the centre stood a pavilion for the *sĕngguhu*. It was somewhat lower than the *pĕmiosan;* the *sĕngguhu* sat with his face turned towards the east. In front of him on the ground, displayed in a star-shape, lay the *charu mancha sanak*, offerings to the demons of the four directions and the centre, and also a few other offerings.

The *pĕdandas* of the four directions dedicated their offerings to the gods of their directions, and the *pĕdanda Siwa* and the *pĕdanda Boda* in the centre dedicated theirs to the god of the centre, Batara Siwa. After the gods it was the turn of the five demon rulers, the *pĕdandas dedicated to them the offerings on the ground in front of* the *sanggar tawangs*. Then the *sĕngguhu* offered the fivefold *charu manchasanak* to the demon hosts of the four directions and the centre. This offering consisted of a goose, a white chicken, and various white ingredients in the east, often in fives or multiples of five; a reddish-brown dog with a white or black muzzle, a reddish-brown chicken, and red ingredients in the south, often in nines or multiples of nine; in the west a goat (in other lists of similar

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offerings a yellow-hued calf), a white chicken with yellow feet, 782
and yellow ingredients, often in sevens or multiples of seven; in 772
the north an uncastrated young pig (elsewhere a black goat), a 346
black chicken, and black ingredients, often in fours or multiples of four; and in the centre a cow, a varicoloured chicken, and ingredients in five colours, often in eights or multiples of eight.

After the ruler had taken his place in the central pavilion intended for him, the *pĕdandas* and the *sĕngguhu* informed the gods and demons that the consecration of the ruler was to take place. This solemn announcement was followed by the *muspa* (from Sanskrit *puṣpa*, flower) of the ruler. For this he went to the *sanggar tawang* of the centre, took a place before it, and made a fivefold *sĕmbah* (a gesture of worship, with the hands raised to the forehead, closed as in prayer, with the fingertips touching) towards the east, first with a white champak flower (Michelia champaca), then a dark blue butterfly pea (Clitoria ternatea), a yellow champak flower, a red hibiscus, and, the fifth time, a kind of nosegay. Then *sĕmbahs* were made in the same way to the north, the west, and the south. Finally the ruler, still seated at the same place, made his *sĕmbah* for the centre. For it he turned towards the east again, but this time he held his hands folded above his head for the fivefold homage. The *muspa* in each of the four directions was accompanied by a *sĕmbah* of the *pĕdanda* of that direction; the *pĕdanda Siwa* and the *pĕdanda Boda* in the centre both made the *sĕmbah* accompanying the *muspa* for the centre.[32]

As can be seen from this description, the basic structure for the ceremony was provided by the system of fourfold classification. In the centre, symbolic of the higher unity, sat the leader of the ceremony. That was also the place of the ruler being consecrated, on whom was to be concentrated all the influence of the powers of the cardinal points, powers which are themselves aspects or emanations of the central divinity. Hence it was said that as a result of the consecration the ruler absorbed the properties of the gods of the four directions and the centre.

But not only the general structure was dominated by the four- 772
fold system; it was also repeated in a number of details of the 796

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772 ceremony, for example in the flowers and decorations. The four-
776 fold classification dominated particularly as regards the offerings (both the *chatur* offerings for the gods and the *charu manchasanak* for the demons), as can be seen in the description given above, and was further apparent in all sorts of details regarding fruits, leaves, animals, numbers, and so forth which we have not been able to mention. This sort of repetition can be considered as characteristic for the world of Balinese thought.

One of the parts in which this repetition found expression was the *sanggar tawang* of the centre, with its fourfold colours, offerings, parasols, and so forth. It is, however, peculiar that the fourfold offering was placed on an altar fitted out with three sections. This is an example of a transition from the fourfold to the threefold system. Such a thing happens more often; the second then becomes a sort of abbreviated formula for the first.

Finally, mention should be made of a still more differentiated system, an eightfold division which, taken together with the centre, forms a ninefold one, known on Bali under the name *nawa-sanga*. The best-known example of the *nawa-sanga* is the lotus (*padma*), with eight petals around the centre.

The borderline between the two systems cannot be sharply drawn. In a clearly fourfold ceremony such as the royal consecration described above there were also traits that pointed towards an eightfold or ninefold principle of arrangement, as for instance in the construction of the offerings. On the other hand the *nawa-sanga* can also be expressed in an abbreviated form in the fourfold system. Hence, according to Grader,[33] a four-coloured flower offering (*puspa*, compare the name of the ritual with flower offerings at the consecration ceremony) can be considered as an expression of the *nawa-sanga*.

772 There is good reason to believe that the eightfold system is of
177 foreign origin[34] – which is not to say that it has not taken firm root on Bali. It unites the autochthonous with the foreign in its very name, formed as it is by a combination of the Sanskrit word for nine (*nawa*) plus its Balinese equivalent (*sanga*). It has often been suggested that the fourfold system, too, was borrowed. Vari-

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ous of its traits are known from India. Even so the system cannot be sufficiently explained in that way. Commenting on a four-coloured offering, Goris writes:

> In my opinion the colour division, possibly even linked with a corresponding distribution over the directions, is older than Hinduism. The four-five system [four around the centre] is also pre-Hindu, in my opinion. That later Hinduism, with its pantheon, its *lokapālas* [guardians of the directions], and its colours, could easily link up to it no one will deny. It was this close kinship in religious thinking that made various peoples in Indonesia such good soil, such a well-prepared field for several forms of earlier Hinduism.[35]

6

Reversing the Cosmic Order

That the cosmic order dominates life we are taught in the negative by the *pĕngiwa*. *Pĕngiwa* is derived from *kiwa*, 'left'; hence it means quite literally 'sinister actions', that is to say black magic. It is practised primarily by the dreaded *leyak* or werewolf, who spreads death and destruction, meets in graveyards, plans murders, and eats corpses. "A *leyak* never refuses carrion", one says on Bali of someone who is not particularly fastidious.

The *pĕngiwa* is classified with the nether world as '*kĕlod* squared'.[36] A *leyak* is a much more gruesome being than a demon. A demon falls within the normal pattern of things and remains a part of the whole. The *leyak*, however, represents to the uttermost one side of the universe, the demonic. It turns the true order of things upside down. That is clear, for example, from the following. The formula (*mantra*) with which a sort of guide to werewolfry begins runs *mang, ung, ang*.[37] In it one can trace the *triaksara*, 'the three characters', the formula for the threefold cosmic order.[38] The *leyak*, then, also uses these characters – but in the reverse order. Such a thing can lead only to cosmic disorder: the reversal of all the triads that can be associated with the *triaksara*. The cosmic order maintains life, and this reversal cannot lead to anything but death. Compare what is said of Chalon Arang, the queen of

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witches and *leyaks*. In her evil practices she uses a holy book, one teaching the proper way of living and:

> ... very salutary to perfection. The whole doctrine was contained in the book. But Chalon Arang applied it in the reverse direction, in a sinister way, towards evil.[39]

7

The Higher Unity of the Cosmic Order

Earlier in this chapter[40] we came to know the figure of the Half One, and saw that he owed his becoming whole, his completion, to a divine being. Mentioned as such is Sang Hyang Tuduh or Sang Hyang Widi. In these names the words *sang* and *hyang* are designations of the more-than-human, the holy, the divine; *tuduh* means indication, command, what fate brings, lot, destiny; and *widi* (from Sanskrit *widhi*) law, rule, order, fate. The two names, then, are closely related in significance; the same thing is true of the powers they serve to indicate. The names seem to refer to a more or less abstract force that lies behind the world of phenomena: according to one of the tales, Sang Hyang Tuduh comes from the non-existent (*tan-ana*).[41] This force also lies behind the phenomena and forms of the offering and temple cult, and usually is not worshipped ceremonially.[42] Temples, altars, and god-seats are not dedicated to him, with only one exception: persons breaking land in a new settlement sometimes erect a 'shrine of origin'[43] at which they pray to Sang Hyang Widi.[44] In such a case there are not yet any *desa* gods, since no souls of *desa* founders have yet been purified and achieved the divine state. This is probably why it is found necessary to draw Sang Hyang Widi within the sphere of worship.

In Widi all the figures of the Balinese world of the gods and the temple cult seem to find their higher unity. In one of the religious books, for example, it is said of the images of the gods worshipped in the temples that they are 'seats' for Widi in his various aspects: as Iswara Guru in the temples of origin, as Brahma in the clan

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temples, as Mahadewa in Pura Bĕsakih, in the navel temples, 776
and in the rice sheds, as Wisnu in the temples by the weirs collecting the water for the *sawahs*, the sea and lake temples, and the garden temples for dry-field farming, as Siwa in all the sanctuaries in the mountains.[45]

From such details we may conclude that Sang Hyang Widi (or 776
Tuduh) actually designates the world order, which is the synthe- 772
sizing unity beyond all antitheses. As such he obviously is the power to make the Half One into a complete person, the power to be worshipped when the figures usually worshipped cannot yet exist. Those figures, then, can be considered as aspects of his being. Widi may be looked upon as an indication of the monistic keynote of all the Balinese cosmological patterns.

The cosmic order also finds its expression in the legal order: it is a moral good, just as its reversal into disorder produces a moral evil. In keeping with this, Sang Hyang Widi or Tuduh is also the judge who decides on infernal punishment and celestial bliss. In this function he also appears in some folk poems describing a journey to the hereafter.[46]

Sang Hyang Widi seems to be the most usual name for this power, or at any rate is becoming so. In the tales of the Half One, however, Siwa and Batara Guru are also sometimes mentioned in place of Sang Hyang Widi or Tuduh. That is understandable. In the threefold, fivefold, and ninefold classifications these gods appear as the syntheses beyond antitheses. They are, of course, not simply equivalent to Sang Hyang Widi or Tuduh, because their origins are different and their background and evolution divergent. But the comparability of their functions can be clearly detected in these tales, and is also repeatedly to be seen in other connections, for example in monistic speculations. In that respect the Balinese inclination towards declaring whole series of divine designations *sami patĕh*, 'equivalent to each other',[47] is certainly in its place.

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Chapter Four

Religious Practices of the Family and the Individual

771 The studies in this book[1] give an impression of Balinese religion as expressed in the temple system and the religious activities of the village community, the region, and the realm. Hence we shall not devote special attention to such aspects in this introduction: a reference to those studies may suffice. Religious beliefs, however, also find expression on Bali in smaller social groups such as the family, the extended family, and the clan, and in observances of an individual character. A few notes on these aspects of religion follow.

I

The Household Temple

592 778 The *kaja*-eastern corner of a Balinese compound is the place for the household temple (*sanggah, pĕmĕrajan*). The household temple is to the family what the navel temple is to the *desa*. In the navel [346 769] temple the village community worships the purified, and thus deified, souls of the first settlers and founders of the *desa;* in the same way the family worships the purified and deified souls of its own ancestors in the household temple. Inside the group there can be a difference according to seniority (a distinction between ancestors from a distant past and those from the directly preceding generations), or else according to the degree of purification (a distinction between souls who have been purified only once and those who as a result of more than one purification have become worthy of a greater degree of celestial bliss).[2]

One of the most important elements of the household temple is the *sanggah kĕmulan*, the 'shrine of origin'.[3] This shrine is divided

[p. 54]

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into three sections side by side. Two of the three can be explained by the fact that the ancestors worshipped consist of a male and a female group. The sun, or the sun god, sometimes appears as the third element. Batara Guru is also sometimes mentioned in this connection. Now Batara Guru – which, translated literally, means Lord Teacher – is a name used to indicate the highest celestial divinity, Siwa, but in both Sanskrit and Balinese *guru* can also mean parent or progenitor as well as teacher. Hence the third element denotes the common progenitor.[4] This is in keeping with the thought of the tripartite system:[5] the third element as a higher unity.

The 'shrine of origin' is closely linked with the life of the family. When a young couple marries, in other words when a new family is to be founded, a new shrine is erected in the form of a *turus lumbung*, a platform of thatched bamboo resting on four live *dadap* trunks. After some time has elapsed and the marriage has proved to be durable, this temporary shrine is replaced by one of wood – that is to say of a more durable material.[6]

Among the other standard requisites of the household temple are an offering column for the *ngurah* or *ngĕrurah*, the protector of the ground, and one for the *taksu*, the intercessor between gods and men.

2

Family Gods and the General Balinese Pantheon

These elements of the household temple are closely linked with a specific family and the ground it lives on. They represent primarily the private aspect of the household temple and the worship taking place in it. The household temples also display characteristics of a more general nature, however, and one usually finds in them deities who also play a rôle in the religious activities of the larger social groups.

In the first place there would seem to be a close tie with the religious activities of the village community. One can invoke the gods of the three village temples at the shrine of origin. The navel

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571 778 temple in Sukawana is called the *dulu*, the 'head' of all the shrines of origin in the village; elsewhere there seems to be an analogy between the shrines of origin and the two offering columns, *kĕmulan desa*, in the *desa* temple. Of a like sort is the link which can exist between a *desa* and a clan temple (*pura dadia*, a temple erected by a number of families for their common ancestors), for in new settlements the clan temple founded by related pioneers can sometimes develop into the navel temple of the new *desa*.[7]

778 776 There are also points of contact between the gods of the general Hindu-Balinese pantheon and the household temple. The shrine of origin itself is associated with the gods of the Hindu trinity,[8] and likewise with Siwa, Sadasiwa, and Paramasiwa.[9] In the household temples of members of the noble castes there is a lotus-seat (*padmasana*) in the *kaja*-eastern corner dedicated to Siwa as the sun god. In the same corner there is often also a small temple with an elongated roof point consecrated to the deity of Gunung Agung.

592 778 829 The household temple, then, is not only the place where one worships one's family gods; moreover it provides the family with the opportunity to maintain contact with and worship the gods of a general character. It is in keeping with this fact that the household temple plays an important rôle in a number of ceremonies in the general Balinese calendar of holidays.[10]

This interplay between the religious rites of the family and those of larger groups on Bali is understandable. We have already seen[11] that elements classified in the same cosmic category are considered equivalent and hence interchangeable. Consequently the step from a purified grandfather to a celestial deity is not so large for Balinese thought as for Western. Both belong to the *kaja* group, to the upper world, thus both have a right to be worshipped and can bring beneficence to the persons worshipping them. The former ruler of Karangasĕm once demonstrated to how great an extent these two conceptions were united in his thinking when he described *adat* violations as "sins against God [*Tuhan*], especially against the spirits [*roh*] of the ancestors ..."[12]

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3

Rites de Passage[13]

The *rites de passage*, too, take place within the sphere of the family. 592
Most of these rites are celebrated with offerings and ceremonies in or near the household temple. Of course this is not always done in exactly the same way: there are local differences, and the caste or class to which one belongs also plays a part. One series of such rites is performed during a person's youth, finding its conclusion in the marriage ceremony; a second series is connected with death.

The rites of the first series which are rather generally observed by Balinese families are:

(*a*) A ceremony with offerings and holy water in the third or 843
fourth month of the first pregnancy.

(*b*) A ceremony on the forty-second day after the birth of each 844
child to remove impurities, especially those of the mother.

(*c*) The 'festival of the third month', on the one hundred fifth 852
day after a child's birth, thus after three of the six thirty-five day periods of the Javanese-Balinese calendar[14] which are sometimes rather erroneously called months. Usually the child is given a name on this occasion, though that can also happen as early as the twelfth day after its birth. This third-month festival is quite generally celebrated; Hindu Balinese who have become Christians often continue to observe it, albeit with ceremonies of a different sort. During the celebration a doll made of coconut-leaf stems may be thrown away along the road or near the bathing place to ward off the dangers threatening the child.[15] Sometimes, in order to increase the child's strength and vitality, an egg is tapped on a rice-block while these words are pronounced: "... [name of the child] has a stone body, the baby has a body like an egg ..."

(*d*) The first 'birthday', on the two hundred tenth day, thus on the 805
completion of the first 'year' according to the Javanese-Balinese chronology. On this occasion the child's hair is cut for the first time. It is also usually then that the baby is allowed to touch the

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ground for the first time, though that ceremony is sometimes observed as early as during the three-month festival. Until the ceremony has been performed the child has to be carried at all times. That the 'birthday' ceremonies also have the function of granting vitality and averting danger is clear from various details. The following incantation sometimes accompanies the presentation of one of the offerings:

> May your life wax strong: may your bones be of iron, your muscles of wire, your skin of copper, your blood bitter, until a stick can be worn down to [the thickness of] a leaf-vein, aye, until the ducks have cock's spurs, the large rice-blocks have branches, and the small rice-blocks buds, until the quails have tails [expressions like the Western 'on the Greek calends']. Everybody, even the red ants, will come to your aid. May you be healthy to the core and very prosperous.

The mother may also take a banana flower in her arms like a baby while the father holds a blowpipe filled with thin Chinese coins in his hand. The mother then gives away the flower with the words: "May I have my child now? Take this money hanging on the blowpipe in exchange for it."[16]

(e) The first menstruation. This event is often made into an important celebration, especially in the upper classes.

(f) The filing of the teeth, also especially in the upper classes. This ceremony usually takes place as the young person approaches maturity.

Other ceremonies may accompany the falling-off of the remainder of the umbilical cord, the cutting of the first tooth, the piercing of the ears, the second and following 'birthdays', the first permanent tooth.

In a Balinese folk tale the 'birthday', the filing of the teeth, and the 'feast of the third month' are characterized as 'major rites involved in the process of becoming completely human'.[17] One aspect of that process is a gradual liberation from the sphere of the divine. A child in its first years of life is looked upon as something of a god, and is spoken to and treated as such. It is for this reason that it is not allowed to touch the ground during the first months of its life: it must be carried, the same as the images of the gods. The

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final limit of this period seems to be marked by the loss of the baby teeth. It is no doubt related to this that there is often a separate burial ground, the *pĕbajangan*, for children who die before they have lost their baby teeth, and that prohibitions applying to burial do not have to be taken into consideration, or less strictly so, for them; perhaps also related is the fact that in Tĕnganan such children may be buried in the morning, while older persons may be buried only in the late afternoon or at night (which might indicate that an association is made between the first period in the life of man and that in the daily course of the sun). In their later youth young people are no longer considered as gods, though in traditionalistic *desas* they are viewed as being especially marked for the service of the gods.[18] The other aspect of the process is that by means of the *rites de passage* one is made ready for the privileges and duties which a complete person may and must exercise. Thus the wife of a novice apparently may only follow her husband into the priestly class if her teeth have been filed.[19] And one of the important temples in Tabanan, Pura Luhur on the southeast slope of the Batu Kau, was closed even to the reigning prince as long as his teeth had not been filed.

From these two cases it is clear that the significance of the *rites de passage* is not limited to the sphere of the individual or the family, but also extends to the larger group. To mention one more example, a mother may only enter the temples after her purification on the forty-second day following her child's birth.

The ceremonies of marriage form a definite conclusion to youth – the persons marrying have to be ransomed from the service of the gods.[20] It is only after marriage that one becomes a full member of the village community. (In Tĕnganan the newly married take the place of their parents, who have to retire as 'active members'.)

There are no fixed, general *rites de passage* for married people, though it is of course their responsibility to see that the rites are performed for their children. There are, however, sometimes special consecrations to a higher spiritual state. The clearest example of such rites is the consecration as *pĕdanda*, priest of the

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592 Brahman caste, which is considered in one of the studies below.[21]
78 But also persons who do not belong to the Brahman caste can attain a comparable consecration, *mĕwintĕn*, which is (or at any rate was) compulsory for persons wanting to read the holy writings. The dead bodies of persons who have received such a consecration do not need to be removed from the house during Nyĕpi.[22] (In Tĕnganan the term *mĕwintĕn* is used for the ceremony concluding the period of apprenticeship or initiation in the young people's associations.)

761 The ceremonies of the second series consist of those for the dead.
764 These are numerous, comprehensive, and very detailed on Bali. One should either write a book about that vast complex of offerings, purifications, and actions[23] or else write as little as possible. Unable to do the former, I shall restrict myself to a few general remarks.

As a result of death one falls in the power of the nether world: one becomes a 'servant of the deity of the temple of the dead'.[24] Hence the body of a dead person must be removed from the house and buried as quickly as possible. The ceremonies immediately after death may not be performed in the household temple. They have an exorcizing, deterrent function; contact with the dead is shunned, and an effort is made to terminate it, as is clear from the very name of one of the ceremonies, the *mĕpĕgat*, the breach.

Such a situation may not be allowed to last, however. The relatives have the duty to purify the souls of a dead person by means of the prescribed rites, so that it may take its place among the deified ancestors worshipped in the household temple – and the earlier that is done the better. In principle the property of a dead person must serve first of all to finance the purification ceremony, and his estate may not be divided before it has been performed; only persons willing to take on the duty of having the rites performed are allowed to be his heirs. In parts of Bali where
761 there is a strong Hindu or Hindu-Javanese influence such puri-
764 fication takes place in the form of cremation. (As has already
184 been pointed out,[25] a great deal that is of various origins can be

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detected beneath the Hindu garb of older forms.) In practice cremation is frequently put off for a long time, and sometimes is not held at all, because of the great expense usually involved. This no doubt serves to account for the fact that, according to a recent estimate, only thirty per cent. of the Hindu-Balinese are given purification ceremonies.[16]

The purification rites, like the other rites, are not restricted to the family sphere. The community keeps watch to see whether and how they are observed. Reactions are sharper as regards rites of exorcism than as regards those of worship. The *desa* community takes care that the prohibitions regarding burial are maintained.

The requirement that the rites be performed in a certain way is often a condition for the use of the village burial ground (*sĕma desa*). Anyone who wishes to follow a different rite must find a resting place for his dead ones elsewhere. Such an attitude occasionally leads to difficulties between the *desa* and specific groups. The immediate occasion for the study of the *pande wĕsi* included in this volume[17] was such an issue. In some *desas* the *pande wĕsi* were not allowed to bury their dead in the *sĕma desa* because the *desa* required the use of holy water prepared by the *pĕdanda*, while the *pande wĕsi* used holy water prepared by their own religious leaders. For similar reasons use of the *sĕma desa* is, or was, also sometimes denied Hindu-Balinese converted to Christianity.

4

The Pĕdanda: His Origin

In many Balinese families, especially in the noble castes, a *pĕdanda* is invited to officiate at the *rites de passage*. This priest may be considered as a direct descendant of the Indian Brahmins whom the Indonesian rulers called to their courts in early times.[18] The chief doctrine the Brahmins brought with them to the archipelago was the Çaiwasiddhānta, which:

> ... was traditionally an esoteric teaching transferred solely from *guru* to disciple in an unbroken oral chain. The initiates usually belong to the

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779 793 Brahman class, and the novice cannot receive the sacrament of consecration as a priest from the hands of his spiritual father, the Brahman priest, without years of study in the holy books and thorough theoretical knowledge.[30]

Such consecrations are still performed on Bali in the present day; a description given below[30] is at many points reminiscent of the remarks just quoted.

776 779 According to the Çaiwasiddhānta doctrine[31] the supreme god manifests himself in gradations. He comes from the sphere of the inconceivable, the undifferentiated, the immaterial and formless to the sphere of our material world *via* an intermediary stage that partakes of both. The forms in which he reveals himself in the three stages are Paramaçiwa, Sadāçiwa, and Maheçwara, the last of whom is also called Batara Guru or Batara Siwa on Bali. Sadāçiwa is surrounded by four or five emanations, and Maheçwara by eight. Maheçwara's lowest, most earthly manifestation is the trinity Çiwa-Rudra, Brahmā, and Wiṣnu.[32]

Much of this system seems to have found general acceptance on Bali even aside from its function as a soteriology: compare for example the concept and the forms of expression of the *nawasanga*,[33] or the gods who can be invoked at the *sanggah kĕmulan*.[34] This need hardly be cause for surprise: the 'patterns of the cosmic order' provide many points of contact.

Such theories of manifestation or revelation find their chief application in the spiritual exercises and thought concentration with which persons attempt to unite themselves with the Oversoul in order to be delivered in that way from the cycle of births. These exercises are usually designated with the Sanskrit word yoga. According to the handbooks and descriptions of yoga the divine power reposing in man must be drawn up out of the lowest bodily circle, until after having passed through the six bodily circles it reaches the fontanel, so that man and god can become one.

793 776 779 Remote and less remote reminiscences of this doctrine are to be found on Bali, for example in the mystical contemplations and writings.[35] Rather closely related is the devotional rite performed by the *pĕdanda* each day in his household temple, the *suryasewana*,

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the worship of (Siwa as) the sun god.[36] The climax of the rite is the *ngili atma*, in which the soul is lifted up from the abdomen by means of meditation. Then it leaves the body and Siwa enters through the fontanel (in Balinese sometimes called the *siwadwara*, or Siwa door) so that the priest and the god can become one.

That this unification is a reality in Balinese thought is demonstrated in both terminology and customs. Whoever is a disciple of a certain *pĕdanda* and uses holy water prepared by him 'has that *pĕdanda* as his Siwa'. The bier on which the body of a *pĕdanda* is carried to the place of cremation is called a lotus-seat (*padmasana*), and thus bears the same name as the altar of Siwa, the sun god. And the *pĕdanda*'s body is not buried, not even for a short time: anyone who has been one with Siwa during his lifetime can never become a 'servant of the deity of the temple of the dead'.

Such unification also means a deliverance from the cycle of births. For this reason the multiple roofs representing the heavens above the biers of undelivered mortals are lacking above the lotus-seats of *pĕdandas*.[37] For the initiate, heaven is only a very relative bliss: in it one remains within the cosmos and so continues to be subjected to the cycle of births. But the *pĕdanda*, united with the godhead, has wrested himself loose from that cycle.[38]

The *pĕdandas*, as we have already seen, are further distinguished as Çiwaitic and Buddhistic. The second group is fairly small numerically. Both groups belong to the Brahman caste. For the Balinese it makes no difference whether holy water is obtained from the *pĕdanda Siwa* or the *pĕdanda Boda*.[39] The observances of the latter are less strict, but they are rated higher than those of his Çiwaitic colleague who practises abstention.[40]

Some Indian yoga systems were dual, with a 'right path' leading to liberation by way of strict asceticism and abstention, and a 'left path' where the rule was that one should triumph over the temptations and terrors of the sensual world by giving oneself over to them. The adept of the 'left path' often had to sojourn in graveyards and thus triumph over death by means of an unflinching familiarity with it. The two paths together formed the 'great yoga system' (*mahāyoga*); the 'left path', often kept secret,

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was considered as more difficult and sublime. In Indonesia Çiwaism and Buddhism came to be included in this system, the first equated with the 'right path', and the second with the 'left path'.[41] Both the fact that the two groups of *pĕdandas* form a unity on Bali, complementing each other (as will be illustrated further in the following section), and the higher esteem attached to the less strict observance of the *pĕdanda Boda* find a natural explanation as soon as they are considered as remnants of their relation to each other in *mahâyoga*.

5

The Pĕdanda: His Function

From these comments on the *pĕdanda*'s origin it is not difficult to deduce his function.[42] As one initiated into an esoteric doctrine, the Indian Brahmin, or his spiritual descendant, was for a Balinese ruler the logical spiritual teacher and guide. Even today the *pĕdanda* serves as the ruler's court priest (*purohita*) or 'source of holy water' (*pĕtirtaan*) and his teacher (*guru*). In a very meaningful sense he can be a 'guide to deliverance': in the final, most expensive, and most perfect purification after cremation, the *maligya*, which ceremony transports the soul to the highest heaven, that soul, it is believed, must be led or borne by a *lingga:* nothing can function as such but the soul of the *pĕdanda* who was the *guru* of the deceased person during his lifetime.[43]

It was, of course, easy for the function of spiritual guide to take on a more secular character. As a result of his training, and above all of his special relation to the divine, the priest was an important authority in the environment of the ruler, serving sometimes as his chancellor and often as a judge. (The *pĕdandas* played an important part in the Balinese judicial system until quite recently.)

Whatever the old, indigenous significance of the *rites de passage* may have been, they now have an individual significance and so can be associated with the steps on the way to deliverance. In the royal sphere the *pĕdanda* naturally obtained a rôle in the rites, and from there his influence has expanded so that nowadays it is quite

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general for him to officiate at such ceremonies. This is especially 783
true as regards cremation. The *pĕdanda*, the most Hindu of Bali's religious functionaries, is associated as a matter of course with this Hindu way of caring for the dead. The chief rôle he fills in the religious ceremonies is that of preparing and blessing holy water after he has become one with Siwa. The water is then purchased by his followers, who in that way can participate in, and be purified and strengthened by, the divine.

There are also various ceremonies celebrated for and by the ruler which have a purport that is broader than purely personal. The consecration of a ruler,[44] for example, has at the same time a significance for the realm; and the ruler's ancestors are also worshipped by the community, so that a dynastic ancestor temple is often a state temple as well, as in the case of Pura Bĕsakih[45] and Pura Taman Ayun.[46] By officiating at such ceremonies, then, the *pĕdanda* fulfils a function which is indirectly of importance for the whole community.

Initially the *pĕdanda* probably did not have any direct connection with religious activities in the popular sphere. Such religious activities are still conducted to a large extent by popular priests, non-*pĕdandas* and non-Brahmins, such as the *pĕmangkus*. Nor do [564]
the *pĕdandas* conduct any religious ceremonies in ordinary temples – to do so would mean to pay homage to the ancestors of persons who are of a lower caste than the *pĕdandas* are. They are therefore usually exempted from obligations towards such temples, and they insist on that right of exemption: when such an important temple as the Pura Pĕnataran Sasih at Pejeng was being restored, some of the *pĕdandas* refused even a voluntary contribution.[47]

However, the fact that the *pĕdanda* filled an important place in the religious ceremonies for the ruler and for the realm led eventually to the situation that his potent consecratory power was also sought for ceremonies of the *desa*, the *subak*, and the like. This of course applied primarily inside the apanage territory of Bali,[48] and only to a lesser extent beyond it. Sometimes the *pĕdanda* prepares the holy water for such ceremonies at home in his own household temple, but he often does it at the site of the ceremony.

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The excited bustle of a Balinese temple festival swells around the pavilion where he performs his rites with muttered formulas and expressive, precisely prescribed, and carefully executed gestures (*mudras*). Except for a rare glance out of the corner of his eye, he goes his own way as if neither the temple nor the templegoers affected him. In this way he indicates symbolically the position he occupies as regards the popular religion – that of a guest, an honoured guest, addressed and treated with respect, but even so essentially an outsider.

Hence, though the *pĕdandas* have not acquired any fixed, organic function in popular religion, they can no longer be dismissed as an element in the mosaic of Bali's culture as a whole: they have been included in the world picture dominating that culture. In it they are classified in the upper world. This is true of the whole group of *pĕdandas*, the Çiwaitic and the Buddhistic alike; it is the inevitable consequence of their descent, their consecration, and their unification with the supreme deity. As such they are in contrast to the *sĕngguhu*, who at the consecration of the ruler at Gianyar[49] was accordingly seated more to the south, more *kĕlod* than the two *pĕdandas* in the centre, and had the task of presenting offerings to the host of demons. However, the duality of the *pĕdanda* group – which, as we have seen, can be explained from the system of *mahāyoga* – is quite in harmony with Balinese antipodal thought, which likes to see the duality of the cosmos repeated in the various parts of it, and as a result the *pĕdanda Boda* has acquired a secondary association with the nether world. In Gianyar he accordingly sat more to the south than his Çiwaitic colleague, and as such formed something of a transition to the sphere of the *sĕngguhu*. The fact was also given expression in the purification acts[50] and in the offerings. In that same system of antipodal thought, however, the contrasts are constantly viewed as parts of a larger whole, and that rule also applies in the case of the *pĕdanda Siwa* and the *pĕdanda Boda*. For important ceremonies it is preferred to obtain holy water from *pĕdandas* of both categories. Their cooperation is essential for the success of a consecration ceremony such as the one at Gianyar and for ceremonies to purify

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the country. This was also true in the past: it is recorded that in [773]
the sixteenth century a *pĕdanda Boda* and a *pĕdanda Siwa* made an offering together, as a result of which the country's prosperity increased.[51]

A peculiar inner contradiction would seem to prevail in the value attached to the two types of *pĕdandas*. As one of the line of adepts of the 'left path' the *pĕdanda Boda* shares in the higher appreciation given the followers of that observance, hence in the principles of *mahāyoga* he is rated higher than the *pĕdanda Siwa*, as was pointed out above.[52] Observance of the 'left path', how- [769]
ever, brings him in contact with graveyards, corpses, and the like – in short with elements which in the Balinese bipartite classification belong in the *kĕlod* sphere. And as we have seen, at the Gianyar ceremony he sat more *kĕlod* than his colleague, the *pĕdanda Siwa*, that is to say he occupied the lower, inferior place. In the bipartite system, then, the *pĕdanda Boda* has a lower rank than is given him in the esoteric doctrine of deliverance. Exactly the opposite is true as regards the *pĕdanda Siwa*, hence the same contradiction obtains for him. It would seem that in this regard the cultural pattern has not yet been able to acquire a homogeneous form.

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Chapter Five

Some Religious Problems of Today

I

Old and New

121 The studies in this volume are largely concerned with the traditional forms of ritual and worship: they reflect a closed culture as yet little disturbed by modern life. The question can be put whether the picture they present is actually still valid. Has contact with modern trends, ideas, and institutions not changed all this fundamentally?

771 178 121 For the agrarian inhabitants of Bali's *desas* – which still constitute the majority of the island's population – it would seem to me that the question must be answered in the negative. All the pieces of the cultural and religious mosaic are still there, arranged according to the old patterns. How deep-rooted the traditional forms and usages still are appears from Franken's study.[1] In its rise and development, the postwar movement Franken sketches demonstrates Balinese theogony in action and helps us to understand how the worship of such gods as the Moslem and Chinese deities described below by Grader[2] was able to evolve.

178 Whether, to what extent, and in which direction the content of the traditional forms is going to change for the people of the *desa* is difficult to determine. For many among the modernists and the intellectuals – 'a creative minority', Toynbee would call them – it definitely is changing. The modern influences and currents affecting all of Indonesia have naturally not passed this island by, even though it has been less stirred by them than territories which, owing to economic or political circumstances, are intensely involved in the world at large. In Franken's study it appears that as a group the modernists were critical of the Jayaprana affair,

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though some of them could not resist the enticement and attraction of the movement. It was no doubt from the latter that the impulse emanated to honour the dead of the resistance movement in Jayaprana and thus to give a nationalistic and anti-feudal colouring to his cremation. In this way they more or less consciously attempted to give a new content to traditional forms. And the combination seems to have been a success at that time.

Such a combination of old and new is not possible in every situation and for every person. In some cases Western-type education, modern medical methods, contact with religions and cultures with another orientation, and the like may lead to general doubts of the meaning and the value of the old religious practices. The old then becomes meaningless in form and content, and so should be rejected: the money that is spent on temple festivals and rites or on individual ceremonies can, in many people's opinion, be better spent. This was, for instance, the thinking of the head of a Balinese family who stipulated that he was to be cremated in the simplest way and that the money saved should be used to create a scholarship.

How will the antithesis between the old and the new develop on Bali; what response will Balinese culture and religion give to this challenge? A non-Balinese, an outsider, is hardly the person to make predictions. 'A dog barking at a coconut squirrel: how will it ever get hold of it', is the judgement Balinese wisdom would pass on such an attempt. Rather, let us consider the view of a few modern Balinese on the subject.

Among them are some who expect great things from the fruitful influence of India. Their attitude will be considered below.[3] Others will not own to anything of the sort. They believe that the Balinese religion can retain its validity and vitality in modern times. If reforms are necessary, they can be made within the existing framework: there is no need to go a-borrowing or a-begging of someone else. One of this latter group has argued that Balinese young people who become acquainted with other religions tend as a result to participate more actively, and with more conviction, in their own religion.[4]

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177 But there is also another attitude, expressed for example by a
538 descendant of one of the ruling families, a Balinese writer who had already achieved prominence before the war and who travelled in the Netherlands and India, owned a cinema, and took the initiative in establishing a public library and a private secondary school. He, if anyone, may be considered among the 'creative minority'. In his most recent novel[1] – written in Indonesian, like its predecessors – he poses the problem under consideration here. It appears in the form of a contrast between modern agnosticism and a belief in God. The novel describes the main character's path 'back to God', a path filled with romance, love, unhappiness, and heart-rending adventures. To combine the old and the new is apparently impossible for this figure: he finds God in Christianity, and at the end of the book becomes a Christian. Such a solution to the problem was to be expected from this author, who during the period of the Japanese occupation took the same step as his hero.

But alongside of the rather unrestrained main character the novel also depicts his elder brother, a sympathetic, level-headed figure whose name Widiada ('God exists') is symbolic of his religious attitude. As a modern man he is able to find contentment in a theosophically tinged faith in the existence of God and does not go so far as to break with tradition. It is he who advocates the ideas of religious tolerance the author cherishes, and – which is more difficult – puts them into practice when his younger brother comes to tell him that he has become a Christian. He can only be happy, he says to him, that someone who was 'without religion' has now become a follower of a 'religion with a God', the almighty, ever-present Creator who is also within man himself. In saying this he bases himself on a pantheistic passage from the *Upanisad* which he is busy translating at the time.

The motifs touched on here – an awareness of God, religious tolerance, and Hindu piety – can also be detected in other, differently oriented writings.

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2

Monotheism and Religious Freedom

Earlier in this introductory essay consideration was given to the figure of Sang Hyang Widi,[6] which was interpreted as the synthesizing unity of all antitheses, standing beyond the phenomena and forms of offerings and rituals. In him we encountered the strange wavering between the impersonal and the personal which is also to be found elsewhere, for example in Hinduism with *brahman*, the Oversoul, alongside Brahmā, the god.

It would seem to me that in the comments on religion which I have come across in recent years more attention is being given to Sang Hyang Widi than was the case before the last world war. In a booklet giving a brief résumé of the Çāngkhya doctrine this godhead is made the equivalent to Paramasiwa, and is called "the Essence of Life, the Essence of Origin". A Balinese ethical work says that "life [the soul] is the embodiment of Sang Hyang Widi ..."[7] According to reports of the Balinese Bureau of Religious Affairs it can be said of all religious groups on Bali that they "believe in a Supreme Being which they call Widi": "a living faith in everyday existence ..." The Balinese *rapporteur*, one of the most knowledgeable scholars of his island's culture and religion, is aware that this statement is not easy to reconcile with the religious realities of Bali, with its many temples and offerings, gods and deities. He recognizes that the people of the *desas* also believe in those gods and deities, and usually cannot give any elucidation of the difference between them and Widi. This may be explained, he says, by the lack of religious instruction, as a result of which the ordinary people of Bali do not know well enough the essential traits of their own religion (in this case the unity behind the diversity of the religious phenomena). And that lack of instruction is in its turn the result of the deeply rooted inclination to preserve the secrecy of all religious insight which is more than superficial.[8]

If Widi is written about in Indonesian, the term used is *Tuhan*, literally 'Lord', the most general indication in modern Indonesian

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for the concept of 'godhead' or 'deity'. That translation gives Widi a personal character, more so, perhaps, than is anchored in Balinese thought itself. Sometimes the terminology corresponds even more closely to that of Islam. It has been said, for example, that 'the One God Allah' is invoked at the lotus-seat in the household temple.

The fact that people on Bali are occupying themselves with this question of the oneness of Widi is probably not without connection to the present political situation. Bali is now a part of a state by far the most of whose inhabitants are Moslems. Hence the Balinese are a religious minority. That fact makes them sensitive regarding religious freedom, and again and again there are statements, in the press and elsewhere, that give them cause for concern. For example, it was said in a leading Indonesian weekly a few years ago that if the Moslems won the majority in parliament and the constituent assembly in the impending elections Indonesia could be made a Moslem state. The reaction from Bali was not long in coming. Its writer asked what was actually meant by the term 'Moslem state'. Was religious liberty to be abolished by a simple majority vote? The Moslems undoubtedly had the power to do so. Would they then force the followers of other religions to embrace Islam? The writer closed with an appeal to the love of their common fatherland, for which adherents of all the various religions had made sacrifices, and with praise for the wise policy of the government, which left everyone free in his religion.[9]

Around the same time the rumour circulated that the government would only allow religions which "have a prophet, have a holy book, and are generally recognized ..." In parliament a Balinese member then raised the question whence the government would derive the right to stipulate such conditions. These discussions prompted a Moslem writer to argue that an appeal to religious freedom and democracy would lead to religious anarchy. All sorts of wild sects were springing up; did the government have to tolerate that? And as far as Bali was concerned, its religion could not be considered as the 'Hindu-Buddhist religion', with

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the *wedas* as its holy book and Buddha as its prophet. It would therefore be the best thing to recognize and protect the religion of the Balinese, like that of the animists in Tapanuli and other groups, but only within its own territory. If this is not done, the writer argued, our people, who still have little religious discernment, will be at the mercy of 'the religions of ignorance' (the term for pre-Moslem heathendom in Arabia), with their temples and idols, and in that way the clock will be set back a thousand years. Again the reply was not long in coming. In it, with an appeal to the "freedom of every resident to profess his own religion and to worship according to his religion and belief" set forth in the provisional constitution, the author protested against the proposal of restricting the Balinese religion to Bali: like Islam and Christianity, the Balinese religion should have the right to spread its wings.[10]

Such an appeal to the constitution was only natural. But one of the five principles in the constitution's preamble specifically states that the Indonesian Republic is "based on the recognition of the Divine Omnipotence ..." (so runs the official translation; the Indonesian term is *ke-Tuhanan yang Maha Esa*, which can also be translated as "the fact of God being one"). Interpreted strictly, then, this principle is a rejection of polytheism as well as atheism. For many Balinese such a wording says too much, just as it says too little for many a Moslem.

In these circumstances it is understandable that the Balinese have tended to give emphasis to the figure of Sang Hyang Widi. At the same time, that emphasis complies with the inclination to make religion more an affair of the head and the heart than of outward, extensive (and thus expensive) ceremonies, for in principle there is no offering or temple cult for Widi.

3

Bali and India

If the view of the origin and development of Balinese culture presented in Chapter Two is correct, then that culture is a duality,

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with the autochthonous cultural heritage influenced by Hinduism, whether the Hinduism was introduced directly from India or indirectly, *via* Hindu-Javanism. Taken as a whole the culture must be called Hindu-Balinese, with a strong emphasis on 'Balinese'. As was seen above,[11] however, in leading circles there has always been a tendency to place much, if not all, emphasis on 'Hindu'. This overestimation of the share which Hinduism has had in the whole of Bali's culture has maintained itself down through the centuries, despite (or perhaps because of) the fact that until very recently there had been practically no contact of a religious or cultural nature between Bali and India.

Nowadays the Balinese has the opportunity to come to know other cultures and religions. In this situation it is only natural for interest to be focused sharply on India. And there is much in India that is attractive to the modern Balinese, even apart from historical ties. If he thinks that his own religion is in too weak a position from a secular point of view, Hinduism is the religion of a nation that is playing an increasingly important rôle on the world stage. Moreover, though it can hardly be called monotheistic, it has forced Islam to grant it a certain amount of recognition: under Moslem rulers Hindus often enjoyed the same relative privileges as those the Koran grants to the 'people of the book', Jews and Christians. And the Balinese who thinks his own religion too 'primitive' or too outward can find a great deal that is attractive to him in Hindu religious philosophy, asceticism, and ethics. Hinduism is, moreover, a recognized world religion, and its philosophy is studied and admired everywhere. It has been able to maintain itself in the face of the intruding West, in a spiritual as well as a material sense.

In the last century many locally determined, closed cultures and religions, faced by the threatening force of the West, sought refuge in Islam, the greatest Oriental world religion. Bali, however, has always had enough religious and cultural self-confidence that no inclination arose to seek refuge elsewhere. Yet even if that self-confidence were to slacken now or in the near future, there would be little possibility of a flight-to-Islam, for most Balinese

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consider conversion to a religion of such a completely different character as Islam – or for that matter Christianity – to be an abandonment of their own nature, of the Balinese way of life which in their eyes is indissolubly linked with Balinese religion. They are aware that as Moslems they would no longer be able to fulfil properly their responsibilities towards the dead. Such a thing means to them a break with their past and a sense of guilt towards the progenitors of their family and the founders of their community. Accepting some form of Hinduism does not have to mean such a break, however, and so would be easier to accept than conversion to Islam.

Among persons with an interest in India there are various shades of opinion. Some of them expect from Hindu examples a great deal, and in various cases practically everything, towards the strengthening of their own religion. Reading or listening to what they have to say, one might almost forget that there is a Hindu-*Balinese* religion, with its temples and ceremonies, its offerings and rituals. Such an attitude is reflected in various books published in recent years. The books treat subjects of religious philosophy or ethics, worship, meditation, and yoga exercises, all of them in the Hindu vein. Aside from quotations and formulas in Sanskrit (sometimes provided with a translation, sometimes not), the language is ordinary, contemporary Balinese or Indonesian. The books, then, are directed towards a general public – a modern, democratic trait contradictory to the traditional and aristocratic esoteric secrecy, which is better served by writing in a difficult, antiquated, and literary language.

Writings of this Hinduizing type make up the majority of the recent Balinese religious books and tracts which have come to my attention. To conclude from this that the adherents of that trend also constitute the majority of the Balinese people, or at any rate of the Balinese modernists, would be premature, however. Many people do not tend to place such one-sided emphasis on the non-indigenous. Though they do attempt to create new ties with India, or to strengthen the old ones, it is not without losing sight of the intrinsic character of the autochthonous religion and the typical

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differences between Bali and India. The present reality of Hindu-Balinism is taken as basis, but in it Hindu characteristics are brought to the fore, and it is interpreted in a Hindu spirit.

Such an attitude is to be found, for instance, in a booklet on the Hindu-Balinese holidays.[12] Reading it, one will certainly not forget that there is a Balinese religion. The author takes as his basis the existing, generally celebrated holidays of the Balinese calendar, as they are described in a study in this volume.[13] A special emphasis is given to Galungan, "the national Balinese holiday", and the institution of that holiday, the offerings and ceremonies, and the formulas and prayers to be recited are discussed. The latter are given in Sanskrit, without translations, which fact makes it clear that the Hindu aspect is far from being neglected. That is also obvious when the author turns to the next festival after Galungan, Kuningan, which he describes as:

> ... a ceremony for the well-being and worship of the purified souls of the *ksatrija* heroes who acquired merit by liberating the island of Bali from brutal subjection to the demon king Mayadanawa. These are, then, the spirits of the *ksatrija* heroes – Aryans from India who came to Bali at the request of the early Balinese inhabitants, – both the spirits of those who fell in battle and those who died later. A small share of their descendants went back to Jambudwipa [India]; most of them remained permanently on the island of Bali. These Aryans ... are considered as divine beings or as incarnations of the gods.[14]

For this author, Nirartha's *Usana Bali* of sixteenth-century Gelgel[15] seems to have lost nothing of its significance.

Bogor, Indonesia, August, 1957

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The Religious Character of the Village Community

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by

R. Goris

[F77]

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This study is an integral translation of R. Goris' essay "Het godsdienstig karakter der Balische dorpsgemeenschap" (The Religious Character of the Balinese Village Community), which was published in *Djåwå* (Java), XV (1935), 1–16.

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The Religious Character of the Village Community

Various writers on Bali have stressed the pronounced religious character of the Balinese *desa*, the village community. That the village forms a closed, self-contained unit – a republic, as Korn has appropriately called it – may be assumed to be generally known.

Any number of statements by authorities on Bali such as Liefrinck, Korn, and the like might be quoted in this connection. Lekkerkerker, for example, speaks of:

> ... the unbroken force of the deeply religious, strongly Hindu-influenced personal and social concepts of the Balinese, which dominate life, permeate and consolidate society, and determine the rites and ceremonies of the individual, the family, the irrigation association, the village, and the country ...[1]

Van Eerde, similarly, writes:

> The [Balinese] society, resting on the firm foundations of its fixed village units, its precisely delimited irrigation complexes, and its well-defined religious associations, remains vigorous in comparison to what is frequently to be encountered elsewhere in Indonesia in this respect, primarily owing to the cooperation of its members.[2]

And Korn states:

> What can be the force urging the Balinese people into staunchly united groups that come together at fixed times of the year for consultation in a way that seems alien to the rest of Indonesia, and playing such an important part in the public and domestic life of these islanders? That force is the service of the gods, who constantly demand the attention and devotion of the people ...[3]

Such quotations, each of them the résumé of years of study, might easily be multiplied. With them in mind, I should like to attempt to trace this religious character in its various forms of

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121 expression in *desa* life: the village temples, the village administration and its meetings, and the village ceremonies.

I

The Temples

778 The various temples intended particularly for religious purposes on the village level demonstrate clearly to what extent religion is a fundamental factor in *desa* society. On Bali there are, of course, various categories of temples, each associated with a certain group of people.

575 592 243 312 Besides the village temples to be discussed below, there are sanctuaries venerated by the irrigation association, the family, the realm. Moreover there are special temples for sacred places such as mountain peaks, lakes, and forests, and for special voluntary associations (*puras pĕmaksan*, *puras panti*) such as *barong* groups and the like. The irrigation-association sanctuaries may be subdivided into *subak* temples, weir temples, and other sanctuaries. Among the state temples a distinction must be made between the *puras pĕnataran* of the various principalities and Pura Bĕsakih, the sanctuary for the whole of Bali. An intermediate stage between the state temples and temples at holy places is formed by the temples of origin and the *sadkayangans*. The temples of origin referred to here are neither the family *puras kawitan* or *kĕmimitan* nor the village *puras pusĕh* or navel temples, but the sanctuaries of the origin of the world which bear such various names as *pura pusĕr ing jagat* (world-navel temple), *pura pusĕr ing tasik* (sea-navel temple), *pura kĕntĕl gumi* ('temple where the whirling earth has congealed'), and the like. The *sadkayangan* temples are a group of sanctuaries of general (that is to say not local) significance, of which there are differing listings. Four or five temples recur in all these lists, but each separate list also has a few varying names. Pura Pĕnataran Sasih, Pura Batu Kau, Pura Yeh Jĕruk, and Pura Goa Lĕlawah are among the names recurring in all lists. Among the family temples are the household temples (*sanggahs*, or, for the nobility, *pĕmĕrajans*), the family origin temples (*puras kawitan* or

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kĕmimitan), the clan temples (*pura dadia*), and so forth. This cursory survey may be enough to indicate that the village sanctuaries to be discussed below form only one part of the tremendous total of Bali's temples. 778

The village temples are an element indispensable to the village community. Their maintenance, and the festivals held in them, constitute the object of the village's first and foremost task. This temple service derives from two series of concepts, two basic ideas. The first is that the ground belongs to the gods, and the second that the living population of the *desa* desires to maintain contact with its deceased ancestors. 621 778

The former of these basic ideas, that the land belongs to the gods, may be illustrated by quotations from authorities on the subject. Liefrinck cites a passage from a *desa* document regarding the members of the *desa* association – "its members ... have charge over a certain territory, which, however, belongs to the gods" – and goes on to say:

> It is, then, a prime duty of the people of the *desa* to care for these gods, to pay them due homage, and to present them with offerings. Hence temples must be founded and maintained for them, since if that is not done they will take awful revenge.[4]

Elsewhere Liefrinck writes: 423 823 311

> In order to obtain an understanding of the prime rights exercised on the land, we must attempt to visualize for a moment the conception which the Balinese has of the original condition of the land. The whole country then lies in a formless state: the mountains are covered with forest to their very peaks, between them the mountain lakes in their solemn silence; the rivers flow through the valleys, following their course to the sea undisturbed, now slowly, now at a tremendous speed; the hill country and plains they stream through have never been touched by human hands. A few human beings may roam here and there, but they live like animals in the forest, and like animals feed on what the forest has to offer, no more inclined than animals to call anything their property. The whole country seems uninhabited. But it is only seeming, for the gods hover above the land and above the water.
>
> Every mountain is inhabited by a deity, every lake has its goddess, there is not a spot of ground that escapes their influence. They are invisible, but omnipotent. It can hardly be expected that, when people

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423 823 311 who have such a conception of matters are asked the question "Whom does the land belong to?" the honest answer can be anything but: "The land, with everything that grows on it, the water that flows through it, the air that envelops it, the rock it holds in its womb, belongs without exception or limitation to the invisible gods and spirits who inhabit it."

This conception glimmers through in every conversation about land rights one has with Balinese who are in the position to state their opinion open-mindedly, and is completely natural for persons at their stage of evolution ... If any confirmation of the assertion that this is really their opinion is needed, it might be found in certain village writings, for example the *awig-awig* of Kubutambahan, which explicitly state that in certain cases grounds which someone is farming can be taken away from him if he does not meet his obligations, "since they are the property of the deity".

423 823 311 776 ... Also completely in keeping with this notion of the overriding rights of the deity is the fact that land is never farmed before permission has been requested from the local deity and that as soon as cultivation has begun nothing is considered more essential than to erect an altar to the deity as an expression of gratitude. A part of the crops harvested from the lands should be presented to the deity as an offering, and whenever wood and other materials for the repair of temples or altars are needed they are taken where they are best to be found, regardless of whatever rights persons may exercise on the lands where they occur ...

All in all, the above removes every doubt that, in the view of the Balinese, the land is owned by the gods who inhabit the country.[5]

Korn, likewise, says:

771 621 The religious character of the Balinese village community determines its whole field of activity: from that character it derives its competence to claim not only the spare time of its members but also the labour of their wives and children for the sake of a great number of solemnities and events. On the basis of that religious character it interferes with family and property affairs, and its hand of punishment is applied almost exclusively as a result of religious considerations.

What determines this religious character? The notion that it is the task either of a representative of one family, usually a *pasèk* [see below], of the representatives of certain families, or of all the members of the community united in a *desa* association to see that a certain area remains pure. The very territory of the *desa*, indicated by such terms as *padesan*, *pèrbumian*, *wéwéngkon desa*, *bumi*, *gumi palasan*, *payar*, *kuhum*, is itself an object of veneration...

784 823 621 The village territory, we have seen, needs to be kept pure. The consequence of this principle is an immense series of commandments and pro-

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hibitions regarding what must be done and not done within that territory. The regulations are different for each *desa*. There is a general prohibition against allowing lepers within the village territory except at certain impure places. Another general regulation is that the parents of undesired twins or of triplets must be banished to the graveyard for six weeks. This *manak salah*[6] and *manak juru* should then be followed by a purification ceremony. On the other hand there are highly divergent prohibitions regarding the pursuit of crafts considered to make the village territory impure, such as pottery making (which in Jasri, in Karangasĕm, may only be done on the beach and by the Pati River), blueing, making rice wine, and so forth. Then there is the prohibition of certain animals: in Jasri no goats may be bred. There are a large number of villages where opium may not be smoked; the *desa* of Pasĕdahan obtained permission from the rulers of Karangasĕm to move the opium agents to the south edge of the village on condition that if they sold opium in the village the drug would be confiscated and they would be punished by having to clean out the village ponds. Corpses must be buried or cremated within a specified time, and in certain villages those kept in the house must be taken outside the village during *desa* festivals. Carcasses of animals may not be left lying, but must be buried in a specified way. In most regions of southern Bali it is also prohibited for a peasant and his family to live for any length of time on the *sawahs*, since that would lead to the impurity of the *sawah* land. The village of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan goes furthest in this matter of prohibitions and commandments.[7] There men may only tap palm wine, and women may only make *gĕringsing* fabrics, both of which are necessary in connection with the offerings. For the rest the people must devote themselves to the service of the gods.

That service of the gods constitutes the further task of the village. The long list of anniversary offerings – *usaba, achi, yosan, wali, puja charu* – differs for practically every village in the *Bali-aga* territory, just as there are differing *desa* gods. In the apanage territory, on the other hand, the festive calendar is uniform.[8] That the requisites for these festivals are always available is the result of the notion that everything produced by the *desa* territory in the form of crops and livestock belongs to the gods ... Of these religious ceremonies, special attention may be asked for Nyĕpi,[9] the 'restriction' of the village (or in the apanage territory, of the whole area), since each year at that time the boundaries are reaffirmed by stretching lines or erecting gates over the roads at the points were they cross the village boundaries.[10]

Alongside the veneration of the gods as the overlords of the land there is also the second basic notion of maintaining contact with

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769 the deceased ancestors of the *desa* inhabitants. This contact is
775 sought not only privately, in the household temples and the family temples, but also in a village context.

Before considering such contact further, however, we must point out a very important distinction which the Balinese make between two clearly separate groups of ancestors. The first of these groups consists of the dead who are not yet completely purified. This group is in turn subdivided in *pirata*,[11] those not yet cremated, and *pitara*,[12] those already cremated. The former are still completely impure, and are given victuals (*punjung*) at the graveyard; the latter have been purified, but are still considered as distinct, individual souls. They are venerated in the dwelling, with offerings on or above the bed, not in the household temple.

The second group consists of the completely purified ancestors who are considered as divine, and are called *dewa*, *dewata*, *batara*, or *sang hyang*[13] – the deified ones, the sacred ones.

No contact is sought with the *pirata*, the dead who have not yet been cremated. On the contrary they are dangerous, and belong to the nether world, falling in the same category as night, black, water, sundown, and new moon (*tilèm*).[14] Offerings must, however, be made for the redemption of their souls, and this is done at the graveyard (*setra* or *sèma*),[15] for example in Buleleng, or in the temple of the dead (*pura dalèm*), for example in Bangli.

The completely purified dead enjoy divine veneration and are essentially equal to the gods in status and nature. They are also transcendental, in the sense that they are no longer considered as separate individuals (like the *pitara*) but as 'the progenitor', the soul of each ancestor being merged and coalesced with that of his forefathers as soon as he is no longer remembered as an individual. These are the forefathers and *desa* founders with whom the Balinese seek contact and whose blessing they need.

621 When a group of Balinese establish a new *desa* they require
769 three special sites: a place to worship the lord of the ground and
778 the deified village founders; a place to bury their dead, with chapels for the *pitara*, the dead just purified, in the vicinity; and a place for village meetings.

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As a matter of course they will seek a place 'higher than the village', in Balinese thus *kaja*,[16] to worship the lord of the ground. This place of veneration is the *pura puseh*[17] or temple of origin, and there, besides the lord of the ground, the villagers will later also worship the deified forefather or clan and village founder, and seek contact with that force. For the graveyard and the *pura dalem* accompanying it (also in its more rudimentary forms) they will seek a place 'lower than the village' (*kelod*).

For their village meetings they choose a spot in the centre of the settlement, for example at a crossroads or the place where the market is held (the two will often coincide). It is quite plausible that in very early times the young men's houses, the accomodations for strangers (that is to say, guests of the village), and perhaps the pavilion for the cockfights were located there. Also the initiation of young people to the status of full members of the *desa* may have taken place there in very early days. (Whether there were originally various initiations, for example first a puberty rite, then later the initiation as *desa* member coinciding with the young man's marriage, need not be considered here.) This centre of the village, with its multiple functions in *desa* life, developed into a temple, the *pura bale agung*, the temple of the large (meeting) hall. It is this temple that Korn describes as "the sacral men's house".[18]

These three temples should be present in every village, and the more traditional villages have all three. But there are remarkable local deviations. In the first place the *pura puseh* may be represented anew in a part of the *pura bale agung*. This representation can be of various kinds. Sometimes there is a separate *pura puseh*, and moreover a chapel for the god of the *puseh* in the *pura bale agung*. At other times there is no separate *pura puseh*, but a place is reserved for it on or next to the grounds of the *pura bale agung*. In this latter case there is always a clear boundary separating the two, whether it is a stone wall, a wall of bamboo, a simple elevation of the ground, or a hedge. The *pura dalem*, too, can be represented in various ways. It is often to be found in front of the main entry to the *pura bale agung*, reduced to a single pavilion or

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bale. Since the *pura bale agung* is *kaja*-oriented, the *bale* representing the *pura dalĕm* consequently lies *kĕlod*.

In some of the old mountain villages the system is condensed even further, with the benches inside and/or outside the gate of the *bale agung* serving as places of worship for the lord of the dead. In making offerings to this god one turns *kĕlod*, that is to say one sits facing the gate, thus with one's back to the gods of the *pura bale agung* itself. The direction in which the offerings are made – *kaja* for the upper-worldly gods in the *pura bale agung* and the *pura puseh*, and *kĕlod* for the nether-worldly forces of the *pura dalĕm* – is in keeping with the nature of the offerings. The sacrificial animals, too, are very clearly distinguished in *kaja* (upper-worldly) and *kĕlod* (nether-worldly) offerings.

Sometimes a *titi gonggang* is to be found either in front of the *pura bale agung* or near the graveyard. The *titi gonggang* consists of a bamboo or a plank over a pit, and signifies the border between life and death. In various cases this 'hell bridge' or 'soul bridge' is used in trials by ordeal: if the person accused of a crime can walk across it without faltering or falling he is declared innocent. The bridge is mentioned in various eschatological texts, and is almost certainly a synthesis of early indigenous and Hinduized thought. Compare, for example, the reference in the *upanisads* to the bridge of the soul, the path of which is as sharp as the razor's edge.

Inside various old-style *puras bale agung*, then, one finds a *pura dalĕm* abridged into two *bales* at the entry, or in other cases in front of the *pura bale agung* a condensed *pura dalĕm* with or without a *titi gonggang*. Another *bale* having to do with nether-worldly forces, but one which has not yet been satisfactorily explained, is the *bale pĕgat*, an open pavilion split into two halves. Now the *bales agung* are themselves sometimes split, occasionally even twice, but I am here concerned with the *bale pĕgat* as it is to be found in several traditionalistic mountain villages, and also in the three chief temples of the Bĕsakih complex. In each of the central temples of Bĕsakih – Pĕnataran Agung (for the whole of Bali), Dangin Krĕtĕg (for Karangasĕm), and Batu Madĕg (for Bangli)[19] – there is

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a *bale pĭgat* just inside the main entry, through which all processions with the images of the gods have to pass.

After this survey of the nature and the purposes of the three chief village temples something may be said of the way in which they are built. The oldest type of *pura dalĕm* was without doubt a collection of 'spirit houses' or chapels for persons who had just died. Such small temples are still to be found in the mountain regions around Lake Batur, and are reminiscent of the spirit houses of the 'Buddhists' on Lombok. The *puras pusĕh*, too, must originally have contained only very simple chapels. In these temples there are often large venerated stones (*paicha* or *taulan*) evocative of the places in eastern Lombok where stones and fountains are revered by the *waktu tĕlu*, a Moslem group which performs the prescribed prayers three times a day instead of the usual five. The *pura bale agung*, on the other hand, in the nature of things always needed an extensive site with one or two large assembly halls (*bales agung*) for the village meetings, plus a number of other structures.

These two very simple temples (the *pura dalĕm* and *pura pusĕh*) and the *pura bale agung*, much larger in size but equally simple in design, underwent significant architectural changes in the course of the centuries, however. The changes came as a result of Hinduism, and only gradually filtered down from the royal courts to the people as a whole.

Alongside of his household chapel or *chapelle ardente*, his *pura pĕmĕrajan*, the ruler originally had two temples, a *pura pĕnataran* as a state temple and a *prasada* or *chandi*[20] as a dwelling place for his deceased and deified ancestors. Neither of the two was completely private in character. In the *pura pĕnataran* the living unity of the realm was commemorated, celebrated, maintained, and confirmed by religious means; in the *prasada* or *chandi* contact was sought with the deified ancestors. In nature, then, the *pura pĕnataran* was a large temple containing a great many structures: altars, chapels, offering pavilions, meeting halls, music pavilions, offering kitchens, supply halls (rice sheds and the like), guest houses, and so forth. The *prasada* was essentially one large central

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stone structure, sometimes with a few smaller ones grouped around it. Stone was used for the whole design of both temples: there were altars and buildings entirely of stone or on stone bases, there was a stone outer wall, and in many cases there were also stone walls dividing the various temple grounds. All the stone surfaces were ornamented, and not only were there gold, silver, wood, and stone images in the chapels, but also the walls and stairs were adorned with stone statues. The woodwork, too – the pillars, the rear side of the *bales* (the so-called *parba*),[21] and the roofs, – was highly ornamented.

Following the example of these royal and state temples, the village temples were gradually also Hinduized architecturally, with the village *pura bale agung* following the state *pura pĕnataran* and the village *pura dalĕm* following the *prasada*. However, while the ruler, the living representative of the unity of the realm, had two temples, the village, as we have seen, had three. In the villages, then, there was a different system of thought, but one which eventually adjusted itself to the bipartite system of the Hindu rulers. The royal *pura pĕnataran* served both for the veneration of the lord of the ground and for religious meetings of state, and thus contained within itself the character of both the *pura pusĕh* and the *pura bale agung* on the village level, while the *prasada* or *chandi* was the place of contact with the deified ancestors of the ruler, and so had a function similar to that of the village *pura pusĕh*. The function of the village *pura dalĕm*, as a place of homage to the ancestors who had not yet been deified, the *pitara*, was not necessary on the royal level, since the ruler's ancestors were always cremated and their ashes placed in a *chandi*. The process of purifying their souls was not allowed to be delayed; a whole series of ceremonies, culminating in the placing of the ashes of a deceased ruler in the *chandi*, had to be begun immediately after death.

This was the dictate of the Hindu-Balinese ideal. In practice, however – particularly once the rulers in the first place no longer had the power or the means to build large *prasadas* and in the second place began to feel and think more in Balinese terms as a result of constant intermarriage with Balinese and an absence of

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fresh blood from India or Java, – a need developed for royal *puras dalĕm*, many of wich are to be found on Bali today. They obtained the names of specific ruling houses: Pura Dalĕm Koripan, Pura Dalĕm Sagĕning, Pura Dalĕm Gelgel, and so forth.

In this way a high degree of architectural unity in temple type developed in the areas which were strongly under the influence of the Hinduized rulers, and the *puras pĕnataran*, *bale agung*, and *pusĕh*, and also eventually the *puras dalĕm* (both for the ruler and for the village), began to resemble one another more and more in design and execution. Though the large covered gate is still reminiscent of the chief entry to the old *pura pĕnataran* and the split gate to the chief structure in the *pura chandi* or *prasada*, in this as well there was intermixture, and today countless temples have both types of gates.

There is one architectural type that requires separate consideration: the type of *pura dalĕm* which is frequently to be found in northern Bali (where in fact even other temples of the type besides *puras dalĕm* are encountered). The peculiar thing about this type is that in the final, innermost court of the temple there are three large stone structures on a stone base which is built in terraces or stories. The temples of Sangsit and Kubutambahan are good examples of the type. It does not at all resemble a *prasada*, and is clearly a terrace sanctuary. There are three or more stone terraces interrupted at three places on the front side by stairs leading up to the structures. At the corners of the terraces and at the points where they are interrupted by the stairs there are stone pilasters.

It is also noteworthy that the structures are closed and do not have pagoda-type multiple roofs such as the *merus* have. In some cases the central structure, the highest of the three, is an open stone seat resembling the lotus-seat for Surya, the sun god. If, as is by no means out of the question, this is an expression in stone on a grand scale of the *sanggah kĕmulan tiga-sakti*, then it must be a very old, pre-Hindu (though not indigenous) cultural element.

This is not the place to advance theories regarding the origin of this type of construction or of the *kĕmulan tiga-sakti* (which was later Hinduized into the trinity, and so fitted into the system).

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346 Nonetheless it seems logical to assume a pre-Hindu cultural in-
177 fluence. Once we come to know more of this hypothetical pre-Hindu cultural element, many other Balinese cultural phenomena such as the *lamak* (the plaited offering carpet), the *barong*, the *naga* (a creature to be distinguished from an ordinary serpent, and perhaps a dragon),[23] the winged lion, and so forth may become clear to us.

After these notes on the nature and purpose of the three important village temples and their architectural design, two other village sanctuaries may be mentioned. These are the *pura sĕgara* and the *pura bukit*. The *pura sĕgara*, or sea temple, though falling in the category of the village temples, is of course primarily to be found in *desas* located close to the seashore, while the *pura bukit*, or hilltop temple, is naturally more common in the mountain areas.

Let us now turn to the second series of symptoms indicating the religious character of the village community: the workings of the village administration.

2

The Village Administration

621 For an understanding of the structure and function of the village administration it is necessary to turn first of all to the mountain areas, where the pre-Hindu situation has been preserved to a large extent. A survey of conditions there[23] can be of help in understanding the newer type of villages found elsewhere, and can demonstrate that both in Karangasĕm and in Buleleng there are transitional forms towards the *desa* of the Hindu-Javanese type.

624 The village administration of yore was made up of a number of pairs of officials each consisting of one right member and one left member. This same division into two halves or phratries also obtained for the core villagers who did not hold office.

The lists of officials in certain mountain villages follow. In Songan there are two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, one *pĕnyarikan*, two *singgukans*, and seven pairs of *saihs nĕmbĕlas*.[24] In the Gianyar mountain vil-

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lage of Pĕnyabangan there are two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕmĕsangans*, and two *pĕngitukans*.[25] In Marga Tĕngah two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, two *pĕmalungans*, and two *pĕnguhunans*.[26] In Sĕming two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, and two *pĕmalungans*.[27] In Pilan two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, two (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, two *pĕnyarikans*, and two *pĕmalungans*.[28] More such lists might be cited from the available material, but the data provided here are enough to indicate that there are three pairs of main officials – *kĕbayans*, (*ka*)*baus*, and (*kĕ*)*singgukans*, – and that these are always followed by other pairs, frequently but not always headed by a pair of *pĕnyarikans*.

As soon as foreign (that is to say Hindu-Javanese) influences began to transform and simplify this system of *desa* administration, either some pairs were omitted or else pairs were reduced to single representatives. This can be seen happening everywhere. Leaving out of consideration the so-called apanage territory[29] we find the following situation. Among the mountain villages of Gianyar, Pĕngaji has one *kĕbayan*, one (*ka*)*bau*, one (*kĕ*)*singgukan*, one *pĕnyarikan*, and so forth.[30] In Bukit there are one *kĕbayan*, one (*ka*)*bau*, and six *gurus*, two of which have the title *guru pĕnanggupan*.[31] In Mantĕring the old names are still recalled, but the functions are no longer known.[32] Pausan displays a semi-complete type with two *kĕbayans*, two (*ka*)*baus*, and two *pĕmalungans*, but only one (*kĕ*)*singgukan*.[33] And in Sĕlat, an old village in Karangasĕm, there is one *pasĕk* (to be returned to below), one *kĕbayan*, one *ngukuhin*, one *pĕnyarikan*, and one *juru*.[34]

Turning to consider the situation in the villages of Buleleng, one still finds two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, two *singgukans*, and one *pĕnyarikan* in Pachung[35] and Bangkah;[36] two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, two *singgukans*, but no *pĕnyarikan* in Sĕmbiran;[37] two *kĕbayans*, two *baus*, and one *pĕnyarikan* in Tĕgal;[38] and four *kĕbayans*, two *baus* and one *pĕnyarikan* in Bĕngkala.[39]

From there on the number of old-style functionaries grows less and less; one after another of them vanishes and the number of newer functionaries gradually increases. Then they, too, begin

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178 to disappear, until there are *desas* with one *klihan* and one *pĕnyarikan*, or finally with a *klihan* who is at the same time *pĕnyarikan*. In all this development a force can be detected towards substitution of a monolithic system of village authority for the old bipartite *desa* administration and replacement of the old indigenous set-up by Hindu forms of royal power and religious penetration (in temple administration).

624 This evolution is to be seen in every field. Though in earlier times the *kĕbayans* were the chief officiants in the temples, eventually they had to give way to the *pĕmangkus*, with the villages where *kĕbayans* and *pĕmangkus* are both represented in the village administration forming an intermediate stage. Whereas in earlier times the supreme authority in the village also was in the hands of the *kĕbayans*, in northern Bali (and very frequently in older villages in Karangasĕm) they were replaced by the *pasĕk*,[40] a sole hereditary village head (as opposed to the pair of *kĕbayans*, who had attained their position owing to seniority). An even newer type is the *bĕndesa*, first under the *pasĕk*, then on an equal footing, and finally superior to him. But this village head in turn has had to give way to the most recent functionary, the *klihan*.

175 This evolution can perhaps best be summarized as follows. Originally the *desa* was divided into two phratries, with one set of functionaries for each phratry and with the highest social authority in the village coinciding completely with the highest priestly function. Then came a tendency towards monism, imported by Hinduism, and as a result a concentration of the village administration in the hands of a single person, as was desired by the Hindu ruler, and in the religious sphere a division of functions between this single secular village authority and the religious officiants in the temples (no longer village authorities).

621 Though even now a large number of villages of the traditional type which have been able to maintain themselves despite every pressure testify to the older Balinese situation, the vast majority of the Balinese *desas* demonstrate that on the village level, as elsewhere, the system of thought is no longer essentially indigenous Austronesian in character, but Hindu-Balinese.

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Though the *pasĕk* is also to be found in other regions, for example in Karangasĕm, the frequency of his occurrence as village head in Buleleng *desas* can be taken as proof that they are new villages founded by southern Balinese. Partly because of the hereditary nature of the function, the *pasĕk* as unitary village head points towards a village founder still remembered and recognized as a forefather of the present *pasĕk*. This colonization from southern Bali probably also explains why there are so few *puras pusĕh* in Buleleng, for a *pura pusĕh* points ideally towards a deified ancestor and village founder who has long since been forgotten as a human being.

The *desa* of Galungan presents a remarkable case: the administration consists of an hereditary *pasĕk* and a *kĕbayan* chosen according to seniority. The *pasĕk* is here the chief priest in the four village temples (including a *pura pusĕh*), and there are no *pĕmangkus*. This, then, is again a mixed type. Some villages in Karangasĕm, too, have a *pasĕk* beside a *kĕbayan* or a *bĕndesa*. In such cases the *pasĕk* is in charge of the *pura pusĕh*. Hence these villages are an intermediate link between the older, *pasĕk*-less villages with a *pura pusĕh* and the newer *pasĕk* villages without such a temple.

There is, then, a clear evolution from communal to individual authority in the village administration, just as there is in land rights. For closer acquaintance with the religious character of the village administration, not only Korn's monograph on the village of Tĕnganan is most readable, but also what he has to say regarding the villages of Timbrah, Sĕlat, and Siděmĕn in Karangasĕm and what Liefrinck writes about such villages as Kubutambahan,[41] Bulian,[42] Dĕpaa,[43] Bila,[44] Mĕnyali,[45] and Sidatapa.[46]

These comments on the evolution of the village administration may be followed by a few notes on village meetings. As the mountain villages around Lake Batur demonstrate, the earlier pattern was that people met in the *pura bale agung* at full moon and in the *pura dalĕm* at new moon.[47] Often – and this, too, is the older situation – only the core villagers gather in the *pura bale agung*, while for the meetings in the *pura dalĕm* either all the inhabitants or only the non-core villagers assemble.

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621 Of the eighty villages in Buleleng on which Liefrinck provides
184 information in his excellent *desa* monographs,[48] thirteen are of this type. Eight other villages meet only at full moon in the *pura bale agung*, while four villages manifest deviations: Tamblang holds a meeting in the *pura dalĕm* at new moon followed by a meeting in the *pura bale agung* the next day, the first of the month; Sidatapa and Chĕmpaga meet only on the seventh day of the waxing moon in the *pura bale agung;* and Lĕmukih, strangely enough, meets at new moon in the *pura bale agung*.

575 The newer types of *desas*, under Hindu-Javanese influence, meet
621 once every thirty-five days according to the Javanese-Balinese or *uku* calendar, preferably on Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion), but occasionally on Wednesday-Umanis, sometimes in both temples and sometimes only in the *pura bale agung*. A few villages have other days such as Wednesday-Klion, Saturday-Klion, and Thursday-Umanis.

In Buleleng, however, many villages are of a mixed type, either with one meeting at full moon and one on an *uku* day or one at new moon and the other on an *uku* day. The full-moon gathering is always in the *bale agung*, and the new-moon assembly always in the *pura dalĕm*.

575 The religious character of these meetings is perfectly obvious
621 from the situation in the oldest villages, with their two meetings
194 per Hindu-Balinese month, at full moon in the *pura bale agung* and at new moon in the *pura dalĕm*. The manner of seating strictly adhered to in all the older villages[49] confirms this character, as does also the prescribed clothing in many cases, for example in Tĕnganan, Bungaya, and Kubutambahan. Further evidence is the consecration required for members of the village administration in a great number of villages. This is sometimes very elaborate, with the consecration of the highest official (the *kĕbayan*) even more elaborate than that of the lower functionaries.

The meetings were originally religious gatherings at which the people came together as a *desa* community to discuss village affairs, those affairs being in the first place the festivals and ceremonies to be held. It was only much later that other subjects of a

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more secular nature such as land questions began to play a larger rôle, of course particularly once the Hindu-Balinese and later the Hindu-Javanese rulers appeared on the scene, demanding more and more land and taxes. Then the meetings were necessary to determine the attitude of the village and to deliberate how the *desa* could best protect itself against all such violations of its rights.

3

Village Ceremonies

The religious character of the Balinese village community reflected in its temples and its administration can of course also be traced in its various religious ceremonies. We have already seen that the village meetings are of a religious character. Korn rightly says:

> These meetings can, of course, be looked upon as assemblies, but it is better to consider them as religious gatherings. They are, in fact, accompanied by offerings, prayers, and sacred meals ...[50]

Reference has also been made to the *bale agung* as originally having been a sacral men's house and a house of worship for the clan.

The religious ceremonies recurring in every village are the anniversaries of the temples, the harvest feasts, Nyĕpi (the annual purification), and a number of other solemnities which we shall return to below. The temple anniversaries have been described repeatedly,[51] and Nyĕpi has also been treated in various places.[52]

These ceremonies demand not only financial contributions from the villagers, but also contributions in work: the women prepare offerings, the men chop meat, and the young people provide performances of dancing, music, and the like, usually within the context of the boys' and the girls' associations.

An 'ordinary' *desa* has an annual holiday calendar of some five festivals (or four at the least, and sometimes fifteen or more) each *uku* year of 210 days, and at least two others each Hindu year of roughly 360 days. The *desa* of Tĕnganan, however, holds ceremonies the year around.[53] The customary festivals in the *uku*

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527 796 year are: the anniversaries of the *puras pusĕh*, *bale agung*, *dalĕm*, *mĕlanting ring pasar*, *sĕgara* or *bukit*, and whatever other temples there may be, with a total of more than twenty in some *desas*, leaving out of consideration the non-village temples. The holidays of the twelve-month Hindu year are Nyĕpi and the harvest festivals.

Many *desas* have other festivals besides or instead of these. The people of Sukawana, for example, must make an annual pilgrimage with the village's gods to the temples in the coastal area of eastern Buleleng and in the mountains of Payangan which go to make up the sanctuaries of the league of villages to which the *desa* belongs. In Pura Bĕlingkang people come together every year from Pinggan, Lĕs, Pĕnuktukan, Sukawana, Sambirenteng, Gretek, and Tembok. The people of Abang, Kĕdisan, and several other villages, the 'stars' of Lake Batur, go to Tĕrunyan each year for the great festival there. Similarly the villagers of the daughter *desas* Suwug, Bĕngkala, Klonching, and Sinabun still meet annually in Pura Manasa, originally the temple of the now-vanished mother *desa*, which is mentioned in even the very earliest epigraphs.

In Sĕlat (in Karangasĕm) there are two decennial festivals: *labuh gĕntuh* and the anniversary of Batara Angĕrta Bumi, the latter festival lasting thirteen days in the *pura bale agung* and seven days in the *pura pusĕh*.[54] In Sibĕtan there is the *puja charu*. In Pura Gumang, belonging to the *desa* territory of Bugbug, there is the biennial *pĕrang dewa* at the time of the *usaba achi*. An annual *pĕrang dewa* is held at Paksa Bali (nearby Klungkung) on Tuesday-Umanis in the week of Kuningan. This *pĕrang dewa* is reminiscent of the *bukakak* ceremony in Sangsit.[55]

527 782 In the *desa* of Timbrah it is the religious duty of the *kĕbayan*, who is there called *ida bapa kĕbayan*, to breed four boars each year, each of them with a name corresponding to one of the four basic forces of Origin, Existence, Purification, and Growth. The boars are slaughtered ritually once a year. The village regulation of Kubutambahan prescribes in great detail the requirements for the different offerings to be made to the gods, the dates of the

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various temple festivals, and the celebration of the chief festivals *pangĕlĕm* (at which the ruler throws golden images of fish and shrimp into the sea at full moon in the month of Kapat) and *mĕlĕlasti* (when the gods are ritually purified in the sea). The village of Bungaya, together with neighbouring villages, has the task of supplying offering platforms.

Participation in the cockfights was compulsory in earlier times, with the proceeds serving for specific offerings. Such obligations are still to be found, for example, in the villages in the vicinity of the *desa* of Munchan (in Karangasĕm) for offerings in certain temples located in this chief village.

The village temples are also used for many irrigation-association festivals. One example out of many is the offering festival for irrigation water held in the *pura bale agung* at Sĕlat.

After this list of some of the festivals and ceremonies which must be held in a village context a word may be devoted to the basic thought behind such solemnities. This consists of the seeking of contact with the gods and the purification of the *desa* territory of certain magical stains.

In the earlier literature regarding Bali the theory is rather frequently advanced that the original Balinese knew only spirits and ghosts, and had first learnt of gods from the Hindus. Such a theory is based on insufficient knowledge both of the nature of the Balinese gods and of Hinduism, for the Balinese had not only evil spirits and demonic forces but many gods, while on the other hand the Hindus had many demons besides their celestial gods.

With a reference to the valuable outline of Hindu Balinism made by Dr Bosch,[56] I may point out that Hinduism came to Bali in two forms, as a priestly religion, particularly of the Çaiwasiddhānta sect, and as literature. The Çaiwasiddhānta sect had little respect for a temple cult and reduced everything religious to the contact of the disciple with his mentor and the layman with his priest. Moreover it had strong esoteric inclinations, so that its secret doctrine could only be imparted to those who were destined later to act as priests themselves. Hence the task of the Hindu-Balinese *pĕdanda* was not at all that of officiating in the temples,

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but rather that of reciting a series of Sanskrit *mantras* to consecrate the holy water or *tirta* required for various domestic and public ceremonies.

The other way in which Hinduism reached Bali was that of the great epics. These were not at all sectarianly Çaiwasiddhānta, but knew and recognized the three gods Brahmā, Çiwa, and Wiṣnu, though some of them were more specifically Çiwaitic or Wiṣnuitic in emphasis. It was through this literature and the dramatic repertoire derived from it that the ruler and the people came to know Hinduism.

The Hinduism of the epics had many deities (Brahmā with Saraswatī, Çiwa with Durgā, Wiṣnu with Çrī, and Gaṇeça, to mention only the most popular of them) and many demons and evil spirits. There were also offerings, temples, and calendar festivals, and moreover a whole domestic ceremonial (the contents of the *grhyasūtras*) for consecrating every important moment in human life, from birth to death, and the cremation of the body after death, by means of any number of solemnities and offerings. In this Hinduism there were many points of contact with indigenous Balinese religious thought, and sufficient affinities for the Balinese to become good Hindu-Balinese.

At this point let us return to the indigenous Balinese religion and its expression in the village community. This religion includes both gods and demons. The gods are the upper-worldly beings, the demons the nether-worldly forces. The whole realm both of the materially existing and of the immaterial, the intangible, existing only as an idea, can be arranged in these two categories.

In many respects the two categories manifest a peculiar antithesis and tension such as there is between the positive and negative poles of a magnet. The sun (and especially the rising sun), day, awakening, white, fire, and the waxing moon and full moon belong to the upper world; to the nether world belong the setting sun, night, sleep, black, water, and the waning moon and new moon. Contact should be sought with the upper-worldly forces, which must be supplicated for prosperity, fortune, and blessing. The nether-worldly forces must be appeased and their influence

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averted by purification of magical stains cleaving to the village territory, since such stains are spots from which the nether-worldly forces can spread their influence.

Offerings to the nether-worldly forces are always made on the ground. They consist of the various *charu* offerings,[87] the offerings for the lord of the dead in front of the entry gate to the *pura bale agung*, and the offerings at the *desa* boundaries or at the village crossroads during the annual purification of Nyĕpi. The offerings to the upper-worldly gods are always placed at a higher level on an offering table, and those for the sun higher still.

A distinction is also made in the sacrificial animals. Those for the nether-worldly forces are cows and sometimes water buffaloes, those for the upper-worldly gods are pigs, ducks, and chickens. During the offering ceremonials for the upper-worldly gods one sits with one's face lifted towards the mountains (*kaja*), during those for the nether-worldly forces with one's face cast down towards the sea or the valley (*kĕlod*).

At the upper-worldly solemnities, thus those for the celestial gods and equivalent beings such as the deified ancestors, the purpose is to obtain contact, since such contact is essential to strengthen the vital forces of the village by means of magic energy. This happens as follows. First the pure offering is arranged on the offering table. Then it is consecrated by the village officiants – in all older villages a *kĕbayan*, later the *pasĕk* for the *pura pusĕh* and the *bĕndesa* for the *pura bale agung*, and still later the *pĕmangkus*. Waving a censer and reciting invocations, the officiant requests the deity to descend. During this ritual the villagers are kneeling behind (never before) the officiant. Next he sprinkles water over the offerings while the villagers, who have also been sprinkled with holy water, pay homage (*mĕbakti*). The god descends for a moment – that is to say, he radiates a part of his divine power over the offerings. Then the villagers take the offerings home as presents from the gods and tokens of their blessing.

Contact with the gods is also achieved by means of the sacred meals held at the meetings in the *pura bale agung* at full moon and in the *pura dalĕm* at new moon.

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771 The above brief sketch of the village ceremonies is perhaps sufficient to demonstrate the religious character of this aspect of *desa* community life. I may be permitted to end with a quotation from Korn on the Balinese of Tĕnganan:

> That so few [legal measures] are needed is the result of the very remarkable upbringing which causes every Tĕngananese to realize from his earliest years that he is nothing but a part of the religious village community, and that belonging to it is at the same time the greatest bliss that a mortal can share ...[58]

Singaraja, August–September, 1934

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The Temple System

by

R. Goris

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On 19 October, 1937, R. Goris presented an address on "Bali's tempelwezen" (Bali's System of Temples) at Den Pasar as a part of the Bali Congress of the Java Institute held 18–23 October of that year. The Dutch text was published in *Djawa* (Java), XVIII (1938), 30–48; the present version, translated from it, has been drastically abridged, and contains only the barest essentials of the original address.

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The Temple System

To describe the temple system of Bali in brief scope it is necessary to omit all but the most essential details. This sketch can do no more than to indicate a few main lines and to trace something of the unity underlying the incredible multiplicity of Balinese temples. It must be pointed out at the very outset that certain extensive groups of temples cannot be considered here, or at best only in passing. Among these are the household temples (*sanggahs* and *pĕmĕrajans*), the smaller shrines for Dewi Mĕlanting at markets and in gardens, and the many and various temples of voluntary worship associations (*puras pĕmaksan*, *puras panti*).

I

The Pattern and Design of a Temple

Let us begin with a general description of an 'ordinary' village temple of the southern plains. In the Balinese temple it is not the buildings that are essential, but the temple ground. The ground is sacred: on a hallowed plot of land chosen by the gods the Balinese, like the early Greeks and Romans, erect buildings for those gods. The temple is not their dwelling place, however, but only a temporary residence, a lodging. At certain times they deign to descend in order to give human beings the opportunity of coming in contact with them; for this purpose offerings are needed to invite them and to receive them. The place of contact is the temple, and the time of contact the temple festival.

The temple is as a rule divided into three parts or courts: the forecourt (*jaba*), the central court (*jaba tĕngah*), and the inner court (*jĕroan*). Each of these courts has its own religious function, and contains certain buildings appropriate to that function.

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346 In one of the corners of the forecourt is the *bale kulkul*, the tower housing the split wooden block (*kulkul*) which is beaten for temple festivals and *desa* meetings, but also in case of any emergency, for instance such disasters as earthquakes, mudstorms, or the like. Like the Italian campanile, the *bale kulkul* is an object on which builders and artists can display their artistic talents. While the signal block is now made of wood, archeological finds demonstrate that in earlier times split drums of bronze were used.

Also in the forecourt is the *jineng*, the shed in which the rice harvested from the fields owned by the temple[1] is stored. In some temples the kitchen (*pewarigon*) and the shed where the meat for offerings is prepared (*bale paebatan*) are to be found in the forecourt, but in other temples they are in the central court, and sometimes even in the inner court. The same holds true for the various buildings for the orchestras (*bale gong* or *bale pegongan*, sometimes also a special *bale semar pegulingan*, and so forth). The place for the *selunding* orchestra[2] is frequently in the inner court. The essential building in the central court is the *bale agung*, the large assembly hall.[3]

In the inner court are the chapels and altars for the gods and the sheds where the offerings are prepared and arranged. There are several characteristic structures in this court. First of all there are small stone offering columns, often intended for the guardian of the ground (*taksu* or *ng*[*ĕr*]*urah*) – that is to say, the divine being who has special care over the ground. Then there are somewhat larger open *bales* for various gods. These diverge in form and construction, and have many different names: special mention may be made of the *manjangan seluwang*[4] with the antlers for Batara Maospait and the tripartite *bale* for the trinity (*tiga-sakti*). The largest structures are the multiple-roofed *merus*. The number of roofs (*tumpangs*) must always be uneven (occasionally one comes across a *meru* with two roofs, but such a *meru* will always be described as *tumpang èsa* – with one roof), and depends both on the nature of the temple and the nature of the gods worshipped in it. Not only the three gods Wisnu, Iswara, and Brahma have such *merus*, but also many mountain gods. Special mention should be

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made of the large, open stone seat for the sun god (Batara Surya or Aditya), which seat has such various names as *padmasana*, *sanggar agung*, and *sanggar tawang* (the last two terms, however, are also used for temporary platforms of bamboo intended for offerings to Batara Surya).

Besides these and other lodgings for the gods in the inner court, there are also *bales* for preparing, arranging, and displaying offerings. The individual offerings are made ready at home, but communal offerings are prepared in the temple itself, or at least put together there. The altars for offerings have a wide variety of names; the most usual are *piasan* (chiefly northern Balinese) and *panggungan* (chiefly southern). Besides these offering altars there are also structures (*pĕruman*, *pĕsamuan*) in which the gods of a temple assemble to receive offerings or to begin a procession.

A few words should be added regarding the walls and gates of the temple. Particular attention is devoted to the walls, which are an essential part of the sanctuary, since they serve to define its limits. They are often provided with columns at the corners and pilasters at intermediate points. The parts of the wall between the columns are decorated with lovely pieces of sculpture. There are at the present time two types of temple gates, the roofed *paduraksa* and the split, unroofed *chandi bĕntar*.[5]

Many northern Balinese temples deviate in one particular respect from the type of temple described above. That is in the arrangement of the inner court. Particularly the temples of the dead and the agrarian sanctuaries of northern Bali display a quite remarkable arrangement of the divine lodgings in the inner court. In front of the rear wall is an elevated section with two or three terraces. On the highest terrace there are closed stone structures (*gĕdongs*) to the left and the right, with an open stone seat between them.[6] Access to the two buildings and the seat is provided by three separate flights of stone stairs.

Besides this description of the 'ordinary' type of Balinese temple, actually the more recent type, mention should be made of several striking differences to be found in the more traditional *puras bale*

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agung in the mountain villages. There the limits of the temple grounds are defined by unadorned stone walls or, more often, by mere walls of clay, while even natural hedges and other shrubbery not infrequently serve as a delimitation.

Inside the temple limits there are only two courts, the *jaba tĕngah* and the *jĕroan*. What in the temples of the newer type is the forecourt, inside the wall, is in these old-style temples the open square in front of the sanctuary.

The entrance to the first court from the open square consists of two elements: one of these is a small bridge (*titi gonggang*), the other a roofed gate with benches to the right and the left (*chang apit*).[7] Both of these elements are of primary importance, since they provide the key to the whole design of the old-style Balinese temple. The temple is a reflection of the cosmos. The open square is the nether world. The bridge is the first step in the transition from the nether-worldly sphere to the upper world; then comes the gate, which is to be compared to the 'enclosing rocks' of the eschatological literature between which one has to pass after death in order to reach the upper world, 'heaven'. The temple ground as a whole then represents that 'heaven'.

Inside the temple is a second bipartite division: there is the first court, not yet completely heavenly, symbolic of the sublunary sphere (*madyapada*, the middle zone), and beyond it the second court, containing the lodgings of the gods.

Yet other differences between the traditional type of temple and the more recent type exist, and there are also naturally many intermediary forms, but these comments are perhaps sufficient to provide an impression of the two types.

This survey of the arrangement of the Balinese temple should not be concluded without a few words on the various functions of the lodgings of the gods. A distinction should be made between the *pĕlinggih* as the lodging of a god of the temple itself, the *pĕsimpangan* as the lodging of a god who is worshipped elsewhere but comes to visit this temple, and the *pĕnyawangan* as the temporary seat in what is still a provisional sanctuary.

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2

The Temples According to Their Worship Groups

The following groups can be distinguished as worship groups for temples: the village, the irrigation association, and the larger worship associations, particularly the principality.

The Balinese village worships its gods in various temples. Three of these should be viewed jointly: the *pura puséh*, the *pura bale agung*, and the *pura dalém*. The *pura puséh* is the sanctuary where the founder of the *desa*, the deified progenitor of a community that has developed into a village with separate families, is worshipped. The gods are also venerated there as owners of the ground, over which the village has only the right of use.

The *pura bale agung* is the temple where the core villagers, the *kérama desa*, assemble to worship and to hold meetings. In the rites of worship the rank and class of each person according to the village system is taken into consideration. The meetings (*sangképan*), too, have a typically religious character. Their essential element is by no means the consideration of worldly affairs, which tend rather to be treated in the *banjar* meetings, but the sharing of a communal sacred meal. In Buleleng the *pura puséh* and the *pura bale agung* have been consolidated into a single *pura desa* or village temple.

The *pura dalém* is the nether-worldly temple. It is often referred to in Western literature as the temple of the dead, and the term is so widely used that it is better to continue doing so, though it would be more accurate to speak of the nether-worldly temple or the infernal temple. According to Balinese belief, the souls of the dead are not purified immediately. In the interim they reside in a sort of inferno as *piratas*, and during their stay there they can be very dangerous for their survivors, whom they are able to harm in any number of ways. For that period their magical powers are 'black', evil, negative. Only after further purification do the souls enter 'heaven' as *pitaras*.[8] Then their magic influences become 'white', good, positive. The black influences of the dead are 'restricted' by the rites in the *pura dalém*;[9] once the souls are

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completely purified, they are worshipped in the *pura pusĕh* as deified ancestors.

Besides the three temples *pusĕh*, *bale agung*, and *dalĕm*, mention may also be made of the water or source temple, traditionally called *pura kayĕhan*, and more recently *pura paji*. Moreover there are the mountain temples, *puras bukit*, and the sea temples, *puras sĕgara*.

Besides worship in a village context the ordinary Balinese, and particularly the Balinese of the plains, worship in an irrigation-association context. All the parts of Bali that are irrigated are divided into large irrigation territories which are subdivided into weir districts, and those in turn into irrigation associations. Each of these territorial divisions has its own temple, though the names vary slightly from region to region. The temple of the irrigation territory whose water comes from a single lake is sometimes called *pura bĕdugul;* elsewhere the temple of the larger irrigation territory is called *pura ulun siwi*.

The weir temples are called *puras ĕmpĕlan*. The usual name of the sanctuary of an irrigation association is *pura subak*,[10] though in Gianyar this name is not to be found, and there one speaks of *pura mas-cheti*. In this latter temple the harvest festival (*usaba*) and other less important ceremonies connected with rice growing are celebrated. (It should be pointed out that though the word *usaba* now means 'harvest festival' in northern Bali, in Karangasĕm it indicates an annual temple festival. This usage is certainly an older one, and is more in agreement with the original significance of the Sanskrit word *utsawa*.[11] In general the nomenclature of the temple festivals is deviant, and often more in accord with older tradition, in Karangasĕm.)

Worship in a larger context than the village or irrigation association is conducted first of all in the *puras pĕnataran*, which may well be called state temples.

While the *pĕnataran* temples point towards the unity of a realm, another group of sanctuaries with a somewhat comparable character is that of the temples known as *pusĕr ing jagat*, 'the navel of the

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world', or a similar name. These temples, in fact, have an even more universal character: they depict the origin of the whole world. There are various *puras pusĕr ing jagat:* one of the oldest is perhaps the temple in the village of Pejeng. Another recurrent name is *pura kĕntĕl gumi*, 'the temple where the whirling earth has congealed'. The best known *pura kĕntĕl gumi*, definitely a very old one, is that in the territory of the old smiths' village of Tusan, now falling under Banjar Angkan. A third name is *pura pusĕr ing tasik*, 'the temple of the navel of the sea'. In these temples there are usually Hindu antiquities to be found. A third type of temple of the larger worship groups is the terrace sanctuary, the temple built on various levels on the mountainside.

In order to obtain more understanding of the functions of these temples of the larger worship groups, let us compare the relationship between the *pĕnataran* temples, the temples of world origin, and the terrace sanctuaries to that between the three types of village temples: *pusĕh*, *bale agung*, and *dalĕm*. A close comparison shows that the three sorts of state temples cannot simply be equated one by one with the village triad.

One comparison, however, appears to be fully justified from the very outset; that is the comparison between the *pura pĕnataran* and the *pura bale agung*, both of which are meeting sanctuaries, and at the same time are expressions of the unity of the worship group.

The way in which the concept of origin is given expression presents more difficulties. In the village triad the *pura pusĕh* has a dual function: it expresses the territorial origin of the village in the homage paid to the lord of the ground, and the genealogical origin of the villagers in the homage to the deified progenitor. In the system of state temples this dual function has been divided: there one finds separate territorial temples (the *pusĕr ing jagat*, the *kĕntĕl gumi*, and the like), and genealogical temples (the royal ancestor temples and the terrace sanctuaries).

Is there, then, no equivalent in the state-temple system for the third village temple, the *pura dalĕm?* From the evidence it may be deduced that in the period of strong Javanese influence the village *pura dalĕm* found its equivalent to a certain extent in the *chandis* or

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792 *prasadas* of the rulers (which can only be explained as temporary deviations from the Balinese religious rule, and should not be considered as examples but as exceptions: they are not autochthonous, but an importation from Java), and in the later period, the period of Gelgel and Klungkung, in the *puras dalĕm* named after the royal dynasties or *kratons*.

3

Worship in the Temples

796 After this bird's-eye view of the Balinese temples, let us consider briefly the rites which are celebrated there. Once a 'year' each Balinese temple celebrates its anniversary or *odalan*, that is to say the period when in that particular sanctuary contact is sought between god and man. That 'year' can be the Hindu-Balinese year of twelve lunar months or the Javanese-Balinese year of thirty seven-day weeks, thus two hundred ten days. Theoretically the festival celebrated once every twelve months should be called *usaba*, and the other festival *odalan*, but nowadays the two terms are often used interchangeably.

796 The essential elements of a temple festival are the bringing of offer-
782 ings (*mĕbantĕn*) and the sacrament of homage (*mĕbakti*). The individual offerings are prepared by each household at home and taken to the temple in the course of the anniversary day, usually around four or five o'clock in the afternoon. There they are handed over to the temple priest, and he presents them to the deity. The deity, who has descended into his *palinggih* on the anniversary, receives the essence (*sari*) of the offering, which the priest waves towards him while incense is burnt. There are also communal offerings which are prepared, or at least put together, in the temple itself. After the deity has accepted the offering and his divine holiness and power have descended into it, it is taken back by the offerers.

796 After this ceremony of the *mĕbantĕn* follows the sacrament of the
[793] *mĕbakti:* the believers kneel down, the men removing their headcloths. The priest sprinkles water over the heads of the kneeling

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people with a bundle of young coconut leaves or blades of grass called *lis*. Then he pours a bit of water on the believers' hands from a bowl in which flowers are floating. They cleanse their hands with this water. 796 [793]

Only then comes the *mĕbakti* in the stricter sense. Each of the kneeling persons takes two or three flowers from the bowl. One of these is placed between the tips of the fingers while the hands are folded in prayer position, after which it is raised above the forehead and then thrown away. The same thing is done with the second flower and the third. Next comes the rite of *noyanin*, the giving of *toya* or holy water by the priest. A little holy water is poured into the worshipper's cupped hands. Three small sips of it are drunk, and the rest is brushed over the hair from the forehead to the crown three times.

Then the priest takes a flower, or several flower petals, out of the bowl of holy water for the worshipper to place behind his ear. Next the priest pastes a soaked rice grain (*bija*) between the believer's eyebrows. Finally he takes a drop of red betel juice from a banana leaf and rubs it on the same spot between the eyebrows. (This spot between the eyebrows is called *sĕlagan alis*, and is the familiar *bhrūmadhya* of Hindu theology.) With this the sacrament of *mĕbakti*, the act of establishing contact between the worshipper and the deity, is concluded.

The *mĕbantĕn* and the *mĕbakti* are the most essential elements of temple worship, in any case in the temple festivals of the present day in the villages of the plains. There are also many other ceremonies, however: temple dances such as *mendet gabor* and *rĕjang*, sometimes *baris* performances, and frequently *ngurĕk*, which is often inaccurately called the 'creese dance'. In many cases hymns of praise are also sung to the gods, and temple concerts are held. And in the older mountain villages there are a number of other ceremonies which are obligatory, though the ceremonies themselves differ greatly from village to village.

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Holidays and Holy Days

by

R. Goris

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This essay is an integral translation of R. Goris' "Bali's hoogtijden" (Bali's Festive Days), which was published in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Journal of Indonesian Philology, Geography, and Ethnology), LXXIII (1933), 436–452.

[no textual material: p. 112]

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Holidays and Holy Days

On various occasions I have written on specific aspects of the Balinese calendar of holidays and holy days.[1] I shall now attempt to give a more complete survey of the festivals celebrated according to that calendar.

It should be pointed out at the very outset that not one calendar is used on Bali, but two, one Hindu-Balinese and one Javanese-Balinese. The Hindu-Balinese calendar consists of twelve solar-lunar months, running from new moon (*tilĕm*) to new moon. The first half-month is called *tanggal*, waxing moon; the second half, beginning after full moon (*purnama*), is called *panglong*, waning moon. The two periods correspond to the *çuklapakṣa* and *kṛṣnapakṣa* of the Hindus. Whereas in India there are two systems of counting, one that begins the month with the full moon and one that begins with the new moon,[2] only the latter system obtains on Bali. Another Balinese idiosyncrasy is that the full moon is always called *purnama:* the Sanskrit word for new moon, *āmāwāsyā*, though occurring a few times in the older writings, is not to be found in the Balinese calendar, which only uses the abbreviations *pu* (full moon) and *ti* (new moon).

The months contain twenty-nine or thirty solar days (*diwasa*), but are divided into thirty lunar days (*tithi*), so that now and then two *tithis* fall on one *diwasa*. In such a case one *tithi* is skipped; this iscalled *pĕngunalatri*, from Sanskrit *ūnarātri* (minus one night). In order to calculate the times when such a lunar day should be skipped, a complicated but highly accurate system has been worked out, though one using the solar days in the Javanese-Balinese system as its basis. In this way one *unalatri* or *pĕngalihan* (for which the Hindu term *kṣayatithi* is unknown among the Balinese) is arrived at every nine seven-day weeks, thus every sixty-three days.

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805 This system results in a solar year consisting of more than six thirty-day months and fewer than six twenty-nine-day months. The ratio varies from year to year, but is frequently seven to five. Hence the Balinese year often counts 355 days ([7 × 30] + [5 × 29]), but sometimes 354 or 356. The deviation from the true solar year, then, is nine to eleven days. This is adjusted with an extra month every thirty months, an intercalary or leap month which the Hindus call Adhikamāsa and the Balinese Sasih Nampih (intercalation is called *nampihang sasih* on Bali).[3]

The names of all the months except the eleventh and the twelfth are known on Bali both in Sanskrit and in Balinese; for those two months there are only Sanskrit names. The first month is called Kasa (Çrāwaṇa), the second Karo (Bhādrapada), the third Katiga (Asuji or Āçwina),[4] the fourth Kapat (Kārtika), the fifth Kalima (Mĕrgaçira: Mārgaçirṣa is less usual on Bali), the sixth Kanĕm (Pauṣa), the seventh Kapitu (Māgha), the eighth Kaulu (Phālguna), the ninth Kasanga (Caitra), the tenth Kadasa (Waiçākha), the eleventh Jyaiṣṭha (popularly Desta), and the twelfth Āṣādha (popularly Sada).[5]

The new year begins, as it does in India, around the spring equinox, on the day following the new moon closest to the equinox. This is no longer calculated astronomically, however, but follows automatically from the application of the system used. For the Hindus the new year begins with the first day of the month of Caitra; for the Balinese, however, it now begins on the first day of Waiçākha or Kadasa, the day after the new moon of Kasanga. Hence, though astronomically the same period is meant, the name of the month differs by one; the Balinese are one month ahead of the Hindus as far as the order of months is concerned. (In Bangli,[6] however, the new year still begins in the 'proper' way with the month of Caitra.)

When this shift first took place cannot be said with any certainty. However (and this is very important), in the Old Balinese epigraphs reference is made to a major festival in the month Caitra, and the same is true of the Old Javanese documents of Erlangga's parents and of Jayaçakti, while in the documents of Jayapangus

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(1103 *Çāka*, or 1181 A.D.) there is a still more specific reference to *caitra matĕlu*, the third day of Caitra. But since there is as yet no complete survey of all the Balinese epigraphs the only thing we can say with certainty is that in Jayapangus' day the new year's festival was still celebrated in the month of Caitra.

The Javanese-Balinese calendar consists of thirty seven-day weeks called *uku*.[7] Each *uku* has its own name: Sinta, Landĕp, and so forth. The days of the week have Hindu names, in the same order as the European calendar: Radite (Sanskrit Aditya), Soma, Anggara, Boda, Wĕrhaspati, Sukra, and Saneschara. This is the same order as that of the ancient Babylonian chronological system, very early heptograms of which have been found on stone at Nippur. The system is based on a distribution of the seven planets over the twenty-four hours of the day. Each day bears the name of the planet of six o'clock in the morning.

The total of thirty seven-day weeks, or 210 days, is also divided into six thirty-five-day periods (*tumpĕks*). Each of these periods is based on the coincidence of the five-day (*panchawara*) and the seven-day (*saptawara*) week. The ordinary man on Bali identifies a day according to its order in both weeks.

The names of the days of the five-day or *pasar* week are Umanis, Paing, Pon, Wage, and Klion. They are Javanese in origin, as is demonstrated by the fact that the *pasar* week on Java is a five-day week even today, perhaps in connection with the system of five neighbouring *desas*, while on Bali, both in very early times (according to the Old Balinese epigraphs)[8] and today, the actual *pasar* week is a three-day week and a *pasar* group always consists of three neighbouring *desas*.

For a date in a Javanese-Balinese year to be determined completely, the day of the six-day week (*sadwara*) must also be added. These days are Tungleh, Ariang, Wurukung, Paniron, Was, and Maulu. By applying these 'coordinates' five, six, and seven, every day within every 210-day period is completely defined.[9] In listing these weeks the official order of succession, both in all Javanese documents, including the Balinese documents in Old Javanese

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(as has already been pointed out, the Old Balinese documents use the three-day system), and also in official Balinese documents today, is the six-day week, the five-day, then the seven-day. The divisions into one, two, four, eight, nine, and ten-day weeks need not be considered here, since they have no significance for the calendar of holidays.

After these brief remarks on the two calendars it may be considered which festivals fall on a Hindu-Balinese date and which on a Javanese-Balinese. First let us turn to the temple festivals.

The Hindu-Balinese calendar of twelve months is followed by the temples in the districts of Kintamani, Tejakula, and Jinĕng Dalĕm,[10] that is to say the northeastern and central mountainous sections of Bali. Then come the temples of Sawan and Buleleng, with some sixty per cent. of their festivals following the Hindu-Balinese calendar, and Tĕgallalang (the mountainous part of Gianyar, bordering on Kintamani) with fifty per cent. In all the other districts of Bali the Javanese-Balinese calendar is followed predominantly, in a proportion varying from sixty to a hundred per cent.

Roughly speaking, then, it can be said that the Klungkung–Gianyar–Badung–Tabanan area, thus the whole of central Bali, follows the Javanese-Balinese calendar, while the regions mentioned above, the regions where the influence of Majapahit and Gelgel has always been much weaker, tend to use the Hindu-Balinese calendar for their temple festivities.

Karangasĕm falls outside either of these groups, in that it presents a very mixed picture. There are many Hindu-Balinese calendar days, but especially in the mountain regions there is a remarkable mixture of temple and harvest festivals not to be found anywhere else.[11] The Karangasĕm calendar of temple festivals requires separate treatment, for which this is hardly the place. The festivals also have different names there from those they have elsewhere: *usaba* (Sanskrit *utsawa*), for example, which in the rest of Bali denotes a harvest festival in the agrarian temples, is the ordinary word for the temple anniversary in Karangasĕm.[12]

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Turning from the temple festivals to the other calendar holidays, we find that only Nyĕpi is now celebrated according to the Hindu-Balinese year, while all other festivals follow the Javanese-Balinese calendar.[13]

Nyĕpi is the Hindu-Balinese new year falling at the beginning of the tenth month, Kadasa. It actually comprises three days, beginning with the preceding day, Tilĕm Kasanga, the new moon at the end of the ninth month, Kasanga, when offerings[14] are placed at the crossroads.[15] These offerings consist of two very distinct groups, those for the gods of the upper world and those for the nether-worldly deities. The celestial offerings are in this case all sorts of items placed on a very high platform in the east with a somewhat lower platform for the officiating *pĕdanda* facing it, thus in the west. These offerings are for the sun god, Surya. The magic line west–east (the *pĕdanda* is seated with his face to the east) is crossed, but not intersected, by a line from south to north at a lower level. This north–south line is the line of the nether-worldly forces.

The *sĕngguhu*[15] is seated in the south with his face to the north, while the nether-worldly offerings intended for Wisnu as the god of the nether world, or if one prefers for the *butas* and *kalas*, are spread out on the axis of this system. In this case, then, Wisnu, as the god of the north and the nether world, is identified with Kala and Durga. The offerings are arranged in the ritually prescribed pattern according to the four directions around the centre: in the east a white goose, in the south a red dog, in the west a yellow calf, in the north a black goat,[16] and in the centre a varicoloured chicken. At the end of the ceremony the hearth fire for the new year, holy water, and consecrated rice are distributed to the neighbourhood heads (*klihans banjar*), who then pass portions on to the heads of households and compounds. In Bangli this ritual is followed by a lively fire battle which is now played by small boys but in earlier days was undoubtedly fought out by members of the *banjar*.[17]

The next day is the actual day of silence: no light or fire is permitted, no one may be on the streets, and all work is stopped. The

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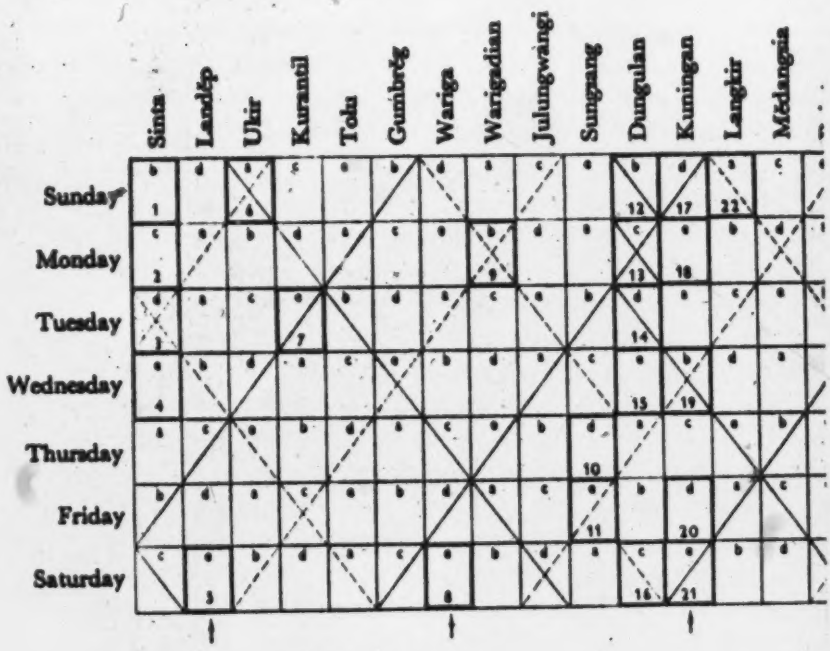

Maulu (sixth day of six-day week) and Biantara

Kala (seventh day of eight-day week) and Jaya

Biantara (third day of three-day week)

Jaya (third day of four-day week)

Holiday

Tumpĕk (Saturday-Klion)

Days of Five-Day Week

a Umanis
b Paing
c Pon
d Wage
e Klion

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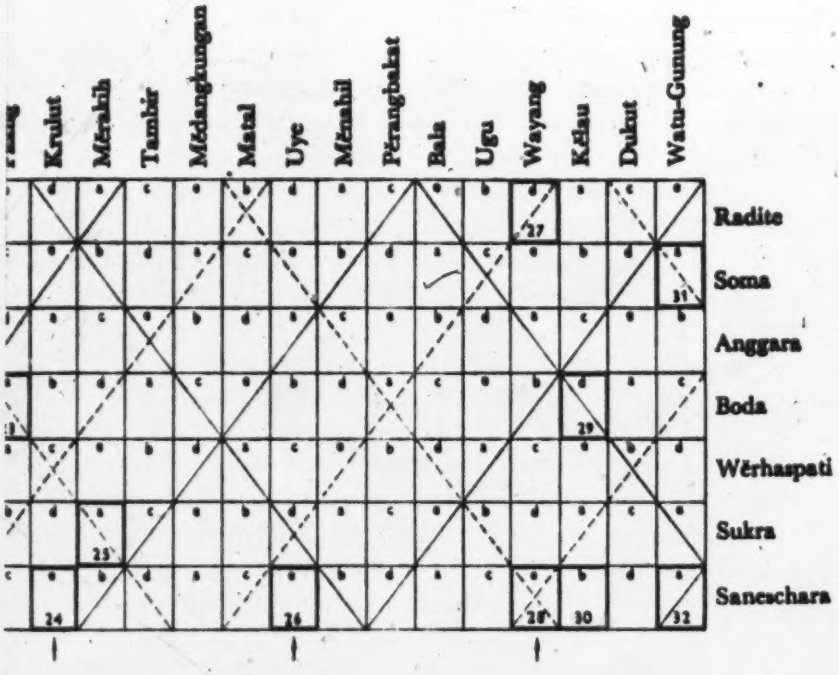

CALENDAR OF HOLIDAYS AND HOLY DAYS

Holidays

1 Banyu Pinaruh
2 Soma Ibĕk
3 Sabuh Mas
4 Pagorsi
5 Tumpĕk Landĕp
6 Worship of Batara Guru
7 Worship of Mahadewa
8 Tumpĕk Pangarah
9 Worship of Batara Brahma
10 Sugian Jawa
11 Sugian Bali
12 Descent of Batara Kala
13 Pĕnyajaan
14 Pĕnampahan
15 Galungan Day
16 Pĕmaridan Guru
17 Ulihan Jawa
18 Ulihan Bali
19 Worship of Wisnu
20 Pĕnampahan Kuningan
21 Kuningan Day
22 Manis Kuningan
23 Pĕgat Uwakan
24 Tumpĕk Krulut
25 Worship of the *Rambut-Sĕdana*
26 Tumpĕk Kandang
27 Wara Chĕmĕr
28 Tumpĕk Wayang
29 Worship of Wisnu-Sĕdana
30 Worship of Sri
31 Soma Pahid-Pahidan
32 Worship of Saraswati

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527 third day there can be light and fire, but work remains at a stand-
796 still. At the next full moon, at least in Buleleng, the gods are purified at the seashore.

184 There are deviant customs in various regions. In Bangli, for
527 example, one may go walking on Nyĕpi Day, but nothing may be
796 carried, no errands may be done, and (in connection with the fire prohibition) smoking is not allowed. In Sĕmaon, a mountain *desa* in Payangan, Nyĕpi is celebrated in quite a different way: there everyone in the *desa* goes to the ricefields, where a sort of *desa* picnic is held and for that one day all erotic restrictions are dropped – the which is reminiscent of European medieval carnival festivities.[18]

527 All the other festivals follow the Javanese-Balinese calendar. The
782 first of them, Sunday-Paing of the week of Sinta, thus the first day
796 of the Javanese-Balinese year, is called Banyu Pinaruh (1). Late at night or towards daybreak the celebrants go to a spring to wash their hair. Then they proceed to the house of the *pĕdanda* to ask for holy water.

The next day (Monday-Pon) no rice may be husked or sold. Offer[illegible]are made to all the utensils and equipment having to do wi[illegible]and homage is paid to Batara Trimĕrta, the trinity. (In some [illegible]one finds *Srimĕrti*,[19] which is perhaps possible if one sho[illegible]*ri smĕrti*, 'in memory of Sri [the goddess of the rice]', bu[illegible]ns to me rather improbable.) The day is called Soma Ibĕk (2), 'full Monday'.[20] The following predictions are associated with the devotions performed on Soma Ibĕk: the person who does homage with his face to the west will make a profit in business. Whoever turns his face to the northwest will find good fortune; to the east, misfortune and illness threaten him; to the southeast, he will experience pleasant things; to the south, he will be robbed; to the southwest he will acquire health. (North and northeast are lacking in the series.) It is prohibited to sleep during the daytime on Soma Ibĕk.

On Tuesday-Wage offerings are made to all gold and silver objects and to precious stones. The day is called Sabuh Mas (3),

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'golden blessing'. The lord of all gold (and of brass as well) is Mahadewa, the guardian of the west.

On Wednesday-Klion of the same week Paramesti-Guru is worshipped. The *pĕdandas* pay homage to the *lingga*, as the symbol of Siwa. (This must be seen as a prayer for fertility.) Ordinary people (non-*pĕdandas*) worship in the household temples and then go to the graveyard or the temple of the dead. Among the offerings mention should be made of four strong drinks: palm wine, rice wine, spirits, and *sĕrbat*. (This last is a 'sherbet' consisting of unripe fruits, ginger, cayenne pepper, sugar, salt, cloves, and so forth.) There is an element of ancestor worship in this celebration, the aim of which is the strengthening of the human species (homage to the ancestors and supplication for descendants). The holiday is called Pagorsi (4), in which the words *pagĕr wĕsi* may be seen, though the significance of this 'iron paling' escapes me.[21]

On Saturday-Klion of the next week comes Tumpĕk Landĕp (5), a blessing of all weapons with holy water, which is afterwards drunk. On this day no sharp objects may be used. Siwa is worshipped as Pasupati, whose name is also that of the finest of all weapons, the sword which Arjuna, after paying homage to Siwa, was given to use in battle against Niwatakawasa.

On Sunday-Umanis of Ukir (or Wukir), Batara Guru is worshipped (6). This is done at the shrine of origin, because in Guru one also sees one's own *guru* or father, and thus in him pays homage to the origin of one's family.

On Tuesday-Klion of the following *uku*, Kurantil, Mahadewa is worshipped (7). Since Mahadewa is looked upon as the lord of Gunung Agung,[22] he is worshipped in the corresponding chapel, the *limas*.

Batara Sangkara, one of the aspects of Siwa, is worshipped on Saturday-Klion of Wariga as the lord of all crops. Offerings called *chakragĕni* (Sanskrit *cakrāgni*) are made to the coconut trees, and it is prohibited to climb in them. The day is called Tumpĕk Pangarah or Tumpĕk Pangatag (8). *Arah* and *atag* both mean 'to announce' or 'to summon'. On this day one notifies one's crops that Galungan is to be celebrated twenty-five days later.

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527 787 796 Two days afterwards, on Monday-Paing of Warigadian, homage is paid to Batara Brahma (9). This is done at the place of Ibu Pĕrtiwi (Sanskrit *pṛthiwī*) or Mother Earth, the *paibon*, in this case an offering column in the compound, not in the household temple.

On Thursday-Wage of Sungsang, Sugian Jawa (10), which supposedly has a special significance for the inhabitants of Bali hailing from Java, is celebrated.

The next day (Friday-Klion) comes Sugian Bali (11), when offerings of *tirta gochara* (Sanskrit *tīrtha gocara*) and *tirta pĕnglukatan* are made. The latter term designates water for purification; the former requires a more lengthy explanation. Among the Hindus *tīrtha gocara* is holy water which derives its quality from the fact that a cow has walked in it or put its feet in it. Hence it is described in the *lontars* as *tampak ing lĕmbu*, 'the cow's footprint'. On Bali this type of holy water is no longer made in the traditional way, but is consecrated by means of special *mantras* recited by the *pĕdanda*. The cow is no longer a sacred animal on Bali, though vestiges of Hindu cow-worship are to be found in the dietetic prohibition of beef for Brahmins and many other members of the three castes and in the cow-form of the cremation coffin. The sacred cow, which is sometimes identified with the magic cow (Sanskrit *kāmadhenu*, Balinese *sapi astagina*), must, incidentally, not be confused with the humped and hornless Nandi, Siwa's mount.

262 718

What is perhaps the most important holiday, or rather the most important sequence of holidays, occurs in Dungulan. On Sunday-Paing, Sang Hyang Tiga-Wisesa descends in the shape of Batara Kala (also called Batara Galungan)[23] to seek human beings to devour (12). On Monday-Pon it is Pĕnyajaan (13), 'biscuit day': the women make biscuits that day. On Tuesday-Wage it is slaughtering day for the men: Pĕnampahan (14). The offerings for the *kalas* and *butas* which are made on this Tuesday are called *biakala*.

Wednesday-Klion is the big festival (15). Everyone goes walking decked out in his finest clothes. In Singaraja young people still ride around on horseback (and sometimes in dogcarts) each

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year. The offering festivity is celebrated in the household temple. A long flexible bamboo pole with offerings hanging from it is placed beside the portal of the house. The bamboo is called *penjor* and the offerings *sampean*. Beside it there is a *bale* for other offerings, with a carpet, sometimes yards long, woven out of yellow coconut and green sugar-palm leaves in lovely patterns. The offerings for the *butas* are placed on the ground beside it.[24]

In southern Bali such a *penjor*-with-carpet is erected every year, but in northern Bali only when Galungan falls during the waxing moon, and particularly at full moon. Such a Galungan is called *nadi*, *nyit*, or *ngĕdat*, the other sort is called *mati* or *raksasa*. Besides this celebration at the household temple, the chapel for the cremated dead, the women also take offerings to the graveyard for members of the family who have not yet been cremated. In Singaraja the anniversary of the village temple falls on the next day (Thursday-Umanis). On Saturday-Pon comes Pĕmaridan Guru (16), the removal of the last offerings.

In the following week there is a series of holidays which together are called Kuningan. On Sunday-Wage comes Ulihan Jawa (17), and on Monday-Klion Ulihan Bali (18), the return of the spirits of the ancestors to heaven: this day is also called Soma Pĕmachĕkan Agung. On Wednesday-Paing Wisnu is worshipped (19): among the offerings are scented flowers presented to an offering column called *paibon* in the gardens. Friday-Wage is called Pĕnampahan Kuningan (20). On this day no offerings are made, but the spirit is purified by meditation. Saturday-Klion is Kuningan Day itself (21), which is also a *tumpĕk* day. Offerings are again made in the compound and at the graveyard, with yellow rice (*nasi kuning*) as one of the necessary ingredients. The conclusion of this series of festivities, and at the same time the beginning of a new period, is Sunday-Umanis of Langkir, which is inaccurately called Manis Kuningan (22); the anniversary of the Singaraja temple of the dead falls on this day.

What is the significance of this series of festivals? Mention has already been made of the coming to earth of the spirits from the nether world, the *butas* (Sanskrit *bhūta*) and *kalas* (Sanskrit *kāla*).

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527 This interpretation can be found in the literature, for example in
782 the *Caturyuga* and in the *Usana Bali*. In the *Caturyuga*[25] the foun-
796 dation of the Galungan festival is attributed to Jayasunu, who elsewhere, for example in the *Usana Bali*, is called Jayakĕsunu.[26] His subjects were stricken by a smallpox epidemic, and he was advised by Durga to celebrate this holiday every year on Tuesday-Wage in the week Dungulan with offerings for the *kalas*, also called *dungulans*. The placing of *penjors* before house portals is also mentioned. In the *Usana Bali*[27] the foundation of the festival is brought in connection with the circumstance that rulers tended to die soon after having ascended the throne.

Alongside of that interpretation there is a belief that at this time the spirits of the ancestors descend to earth and reside in their chapels for a time, then ascend to heaven again. In this view there are four periods, each of five days, and each beginning on a Klion. On Friday-Klion of the week of Sungsang, the holiday Sugian Bali, the deified ancestors, the *pitaras*, are believed to descend (Old Balinese *lakuan*). Five days later, on Wednesday-Klion of Dungulan, they are given their major offerings. Another five days later, on Monday-Klion of Kuningan, they return to heaven (Old and Modern Balinese *ulihan*). Another five days later, on Saturday-Klion, falls Kuningan Day. This interpretation finds confirmation in Old Balinese epigraphs.

A passage in the second charter of Tĕrunyan reads: *angkĕn māgha mahānawamī di lakwan di ulihan*, 'on the "great ninth", in the month of Māgha, on the arrival [descent] and the return [to heaven]'. This festival, then, now celebrated according to the Javanese-Balinese calendar, was earlier observed according to the Hindu-Balinese year.

805 This is perhaps the place to say something further about the *ukus* and the *tumpĕks*. Nowadays the *odalan*, the *uku* year, begins with the week of Sinta and the day of Sunday-Paing. If this were really the original beginning of the *uku* year, then all three major systems of weeks ought also to begin on that day. Now the seven-day week begins with Sunday (Radite), as always, and also the six-day week with Tungleh, but the five-day week commences

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with Paing. It is clear that the five-day week (thus Umanis, Paing, Pon, Wage, and Klion) must have begun with Umanis originally, for Pon (*pwan*) still means 'the third day' (*bin-pwan* or *bwin-pwan* is the day after tomorrow, and *i pwan* is the day before yesterday), and Klion, derived from *liu*, or much, means the most, the highest. Such names make sense only if the sequence begins with Umanis. Hence one would expect to find the first *uku* opening with Sunday-Umanis. There are, of course, six such *ukus*, Ukir, Warigadian, Langkir, Měrakih, Měnahil, and Kĕlau. The four-day and eight-day week, moreover, intercalate in the *uku* of Dungulan: that is to say that Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday of Dungulan are all three called Jaya in the four-day week and Kala in the eight-day week; this is clearly a calendar adjustment between the 210 days ($6 \times 5 \times 7$) of the Javanese-Balinese year and the four and eight-day weeks, and it is natural to expect such a calendar adjustment at the end of the year. The next *uku* to begin with Sunday-Umanis is Langkir, the first day of which is also a Tungleh. Langkir, then, was probably the beginning of the year in earlier times. But then the *ukus* of Dungulan and Kuningan will have fallen at the year's end, and these are the two weeks for commemorating the ancestors. Hence everything pleads for the point of view that the year formerly began with Langkir, which is now the thirteenth week. Then the year was later set back twelve seven-day weeks.[28] However, though the present system suggests an older one ending with Dungulan and Kuningan, it is not clear what can have led to the shift. It must have taken place before the *ukus* were given their present names, which suggest an end of the world in Watu-Gunung and a new beginning in Sinta.[29]

On Wednesday-Klion of the *uku* of Paang, called Pĕgat Uwakan (23), Sang Hyang Tunggal is worshipped by means of meditation. The Saturday-Klion of the next *uku*, Krulut, is another *tumpĕk* day (24). There are no ceremonies on the day, but it marks the conclusion to an extraordinary period called *bunchal balung*. In this period it is not permitted to pay debts, marry, or buy animals. The period either begins after Wednesday-Klion of Dungulan, in that case ending on Pĕgat Uwakan (Wednesday-Klion of Paang),

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805 [784] or it begins on Saturday-Klion of Kuningan, ending on the Saturday-Klion of Krulut.[30]

527 796 On Friday-Umanis of Měrakih the *rambut-sědana* (Sanskrit *sādhana*) are worshipped (25). These are beings conceived of as husband and wife who represent happiness and prosperity. In them one may detect Wisnu and Sri.[31] In the *warigas*, however, there is reference to a god Kamajaya, and mention of the fact that the *Gĕguritan Anggastya* refers to Kamajaya as the divine inhabitant of the *sanggah kĕmulan tiga-sakti*, the tripartite shrine of origin, after it has been constructed of sandalwood and *maja-gau* wood, and that Liefrinck also refers to *sakti kĕmulan* in connection with the *rambut-sĕdana*, is enough to make it clear that there may be a contamination of conceptual groups.

The next *tumpĕk* day falls on Saturday-Klion of Uye, which is called Tumpĕk Kandang or Tumpĕk Cheleng (26), 'cattle-pen [782] day' or 'pig's day'. Offerings are made to oxen, water buffaloes, and other domesticated animals. It should also be mentioned that the men make special offerings for the game cocks, and the women for the pigs.

527 788 796 Sunday-Wage of Wayang is called Wara Chĕmĕr or Kalapaksa (27). It is forbidden to bathe or cut hair that day. In the bedrooms and beside the doors the thorny leaves of the screw-pine and the *intaran* tree are fastened to ward off the *kalas* and *butas* who want to devour the children. This ceremony is called *pĕsĕlatan*. Children born during the *uku* of Wayang have to be purified; for this purpose a purification wayang performance is given of the *Sudamala*[32] on Friday-Wage. The next day, Saturday-Klion (thus again a *tumpĕk*), Iswara is worshipped (28). Offerings are made to all equipment used for music, dancing, and wayang. Children born on this day must be purified by means of a performance of the drama of *Sapu Leger*.

On Wednesday-Wage of Kĕlau, Wisnu-Sĕdana, the divinity of prosperity, of economic and financial success, is worshipped (29). No business may be done on this day. Here, as in so many cases, then, the 'sacred' is both the exalted object of offerings and homage and at the same time magically dangerous. The Saturday-Paing

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of the same *uku* is devoted to Sri as the goddess of agriculture (30); on that day rice may not be threshed or sold. 527 784

Soma Pahid-Pahidan (31) falls on Monday-Umanis of Watu-Gunung. On this day women coming back from bathing may not place a comb in their hair, because according to legend a woman combing her hair[33] once brought her brother in temptation. Behind this prohibition there lurks a mother-son as well as a brother-sister incest complex: Watu-Gunung was both son and husband of Dewi Sinta.[34] It is also forbidden to climb trees: this prohibition is associated with the tale that when Watu-Gunung asked for rice as a small child his mother Dewi Sinta dragged him out of the kitchen and beat him. This dragging is called *pahid* in Balinese. Anyone who climbed a tree on Soma Pahid-Pahidan would also be pulled out of it, and so fall and die. 796

The Saturday-Umanis of this *uku*, the last day of Watu-Gunung and hence of the whole year, is devoted to Saraswati as the goddess of wisdom (32). Offerings are made to the *lontars* (by men only), and it is not allowed to read or write on that day. 527 782 796 784

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The Consecration of a Priest

by

V. E. Korn

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V. E. Korn's "Balische priesterwijding / Ong awya prana masameh" (Consecration of the Balinese Priest), of which this is an integral translation, was published in *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (Colonial Journal), XVII (1928), 481–500.

[p. 130 contains no textual material]

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The Consecration of a Priest

I

Who Becomes a Priest

To participate in public life as a priest, one must have reached middle age. Not only is this prescribed by the priestly manuals such as the *Brahmatatwa*, but the preliminary study and the many rules of conduct make it almost impossible for a youthful candidate to perform the priestly functions satisfactorily.

Even so the rule is sometimes sinned against for reasons of a practical kind. Every Hindu-Balinese who does not belong to one of what might be called the heretical sects has his priest, his *siwa* (whether a Çiwaitic or a Buddhist Brahmin: hence one speaks of *mĕsiwa kĕ Siwa* and *mĕsiwa kĕ Boda*). There are priests who can count thousands of 'parishioners', and since the intercession of one's priest and the use of his holy water are required for certain ceremonies, such an extensive clientele means a not insignificant source of income. On the death of a priest his clientele is transferred to the son who succeeds him in the dignity of the priesthood, and it is this hereditary element that sometimes leads a Brahmin to assume the priestly state at a youthful age in order to be able to succeed his father when the time has come.

As a rule the eldest son of the priest's chief wife is destined to follow in his father's footsteps, and this fact is taken into account in his upbringing. The youth, who learns to read at a very early age in order to be able to begin studying the religious books, also soon receives instruction in exalted rules of life and conduct. This dual goal of attaining as perfect knowledge as possible and of arriving at an unimpeachable path of life remains characteristic for him throughout his life.

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2

The Study

793 The candidate priest, the *siya* or *pĕranakan*, acquires his learning
874 from a priestly mentor (*nabe, guru, siwa, surya, purohita*) who acquaints him with the extensive body of Balinese literature, almost every part of which is of greater or lesser importance for a priest.

One of the most important things for the pupil is to become familiar with the first group of Balinese *lontar* volumes, the *warigas*, which are usually considered to comprise only writings on chronology, but among which some persons also include works on philology and handicrafts. The chronological works are divided into four sub-groups, *wariga gĕmĕt*, *wariga batak*, *wariga janantaka*, and *wariga panchakanda*. These *warigas* are considered of preeminent importance, since they contain material basic to all other fields of learning and since practically all Balinese writings are related to them in one way or another, or at least presuppose knowledge of them.

The candidate priest also studies several works in the second group of Balinese writings lumped together under the name *agamas*. To translate the term *agama* as 'law book' is too restrictive, as the group also contains the writings stipulating the rules of life for various classes of people. The *agamas*, too, are broken down into four sub-groups, each of which is indicated by its most important book: the *Siwasasana*, the *Rajasasana*, the *Mantrisasana*, and the *Parasasana*. In all, the group of *agamas* comprises some thirty-six works.

As a rule priests also have a medical function, hence the pupil needs moreover to become acquainted with certain medical writings, *usadas* or *osadas*. Also this third group is divided into four sub-groups, the *usada tuwa*, the *usada rare*, the *kalimosada* and the *darmosada*, dealing with the healing of adults, the healing of children, the source of illnesses, and methods of healing. Though what might be called medicine in the strict sense has a not insignificant place in these *usadas*,[1] they are characterized by a liberal listing of *mantras* to be recited. This is, for example, very much the

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case in the *Usada Sari*, which contains a whole collection of symptoms together with appropriate magical formulas for recitation.

That the study of the *usadas* involves knowledge of the *mantras* indicates that the pupil has meanwhile begun to apply himself to a following category of works dealing more specifically with religion. On Bali this is called the study of the *wedas*. The data which have come to the attention of Western scholars up to the present point towards the conclusion that the four early Indian collections of *wedas* are not extant on Bali; not even fragments of these wedic collections have been found. This problem was treated most recently by Goris,[2] who pointed out that though Sanskrit is used on Bali as the ecclesiastical language, wedic Sanskrit is and remains an unknown territory to the priest. However, though it is not a very likely one, the possibility should be taken into account that there may be a few copies of *weda* collections in the hands of certain priestly families who have been able to keep them secret from Western sleuths. In that case wedic Sanskrit, albeit uncomprehended, might still be in use in such families as a language for recitation.

Be that as it may, the question of what the study of the *wedas* comprises is always answered by experts as follows. First of all come the four *wedas* proper, that is to say the *Rĕgweda*, *Yajurweda*, *Samaweda*, and *Atarwaweda* (though the names are rather frequently listed in a corrupt form). Immediately following is the study of the *argas* (the *Argapatra*, the *Argasarasaita*, and the *Argasunyadarma*), succeeded by works such as the *Anggastya* and the *Bodalingga*, and finally the extensive series of *tuturs*. These last writings contain the doctrines of the *ilmu batin*, as the mysteries of the dogma are usually called. The question of what makes the deepest impression on the Balinese studying this *tutur* literature is usually answered: first of all the observations on the origin of life; then the projection of the macrocosmos in the microcosmos, of the *buwana agung*, the 'great world', in the *buwana alit*, the 'little world' or man; and finally the contemplations on the perfect way for the soul to be released from its physical bondage.

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793 A certain amount of knowledge of these doctrines is essential for
779 a proper understanding of any number of Balinese religious solem-
538 nities, and particularly of the ceremonial followed in cremation.
874 The function of the *naga-banda*, the intertwined serpents, in the cremation of royal members of the *ksatriya* caste, for example, is incomprehensible without a knowledge of Balinese views on the 'little world' and the path chosen by the soul on its last voyage.

These four groups of writings – *warigas*, *agamas*, *usadas*, and *weda-arga-tuturs* – together form one interrelated complex of theological literature.

A second complex of Balinese writings consists of several groups of works that might be considered as *belles lettres*. This complex is, however, by no means clearly demarcated from the first four groups. The initial group in the complex consists of the *parwas* of the *Mahābhārata*. However, six of the eighteen *parwas* – the *Aranyakaparwa*, the *Dronaparwa*, the *Karnaparwa*, the *Salyaparwa*, the *Gadaparwa*, and the *Aswatamaparwa*[1] – have not found their way to Bali, though their names are known.

The second group, which is also considered to belong to the *parwas*, comprises primarily more or less historical works such as the *pĕmĕnchangahs*, the *Usana Jawa*, the *Usana Bali*, the *Tantu Pagĕlaran*, *Chin Anggrok* (*Ken Arok*), *Asuasa*, *Eka Pĕrtama*, *Chambra Berawa*, and so forth.

The third group consists of the long series of Middle Javanese writings in *wirama* verse-form, among which the *Baratayuda* and the *Ramayana* occupy leading positions.

The fourth and fifth groups, the *kidungs* (old histories and fables) and *gĕguritans* (parables and satires, many of them in *tĕmbang* verse-form) are of subordinate importance for the candidate priest.

3

The Regimen

793 After this brief survey of the sources from which the prospective priest acquires his knowledge, attention may be turned to the path of life which he is required to follow. An old text states in

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this connection: "Let your school be the purification of the body's three circles, your idea the divine Absolute, your behaviour the pattern of the ten virtues." Thus purity in deed, word, and thought is a first requirement; all desires must be concentrated on the supreme lord of the universe (Paramarta, or Siwa); and the ten virtues (*dasa-sila*) described by Kern as ten commandments must be followed strictly.[4]

It should be noted that for a Hindu an unimpeachable path of life means first of all strict observance of the rules obtaining for his class. The Brahmin who is guilty of any behaviour unworthy of his caste (for example eating from the same dish with casteless persons) can no longer become a priest. Of course he also needs to hold himself aloof from the ordinary human vices. The *sasanas* warn particularly against covetousness, a fact which deserves all the more attention when it is considered that a great many Balinese priests cannot be exonerated from greed.

As regards the *dasa-sila* it should be pointed out that alongside of the usual meaning of the term as the ten commandments, it is frequently used on Bali to designate the control of the ten senses, that is to say the five senses of perception (hearing, sight, smell, taste, and feeling) and the five senses of function (the head, or sometimes more especially the mouth, the arms, the legs, the anus, and the sexual organs). The perfect novice, then, needs to have so much self-restraint that he is completely unaffected in using his senses of perception and that it is impossible for him to make wrong use of his senses of function.

When the pupil has come to the end of his studies he is threatened by new dangers. It may be that he imagines he knows everything and takes to showing off bumptiously, or on the other hand that he doubts the truth of the dogmas. Both attitudes are sinful, and according to the *sasanas* entail unfitness for the priesthood.

Finally, a novice needs to take special care not to do, say, or think anything improper with regard to his mentor. It will be seen below that with the consecration of the novice as a priest a bond is created between the pupil and his mentor for the rest of their existence, both here on earth and in the hereafter. But even

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793 as a novice the candidate priest needs to manifest complete submission to his mentor. He must attend to every one of his words without ever discussing them or doubting their veracity. The rules regarding this submission to the mentor are indicated by the term *dasa-sila ning aguru.*

4

The Special Character of the Consecration Ceremony

If the pupil has completed his studies and, to judge from his exemplary way of life, may be expected to cooperate in promoting the well-being of the three worlds and the rest of the universe, he is considered worthy of donning the cloth of Sang Hyang Darma, that is to say of becoming a member of the priesthood. He will then follow the *Slokaparasraya* and turn to his mentor, asking his assistance in ridding his body of its last impurities and requesting his permission to perform the priestly functions.

793 Before turning to consider the consecration itself, I may explain
796 why, out of the countless Balinese religious ceremonies, I have
781 chosen this one solemnity as a subject for study. Anyone who has ever witnessed tooth-filing, purification, cremation, or many another Balinese ceremony for which priestly assistance is needed will undoubtedly have been struck by the peculiar mixture of pious seriousness and unbridled raucousness. The priest, on a platform, performs the requisite ceremonies. The *mantras* on his lips have a serious tone; now they are murmured softly, then again loud and long drawn-out, sometimes muttered swiftly, sometimes pronounced slowly and solemnly. Meanwhile he holds his hands in various positions, he rings the prayer bell, sprinkles holy water, scatters flowers, and blesses offerings with incense, holy water, fire and water. His whole attention is focused on the performance of his service.

And meanwhile the public that has called in his assistance drifts here and there or sits in groups to talk loudly and without restraint about the most frivolous subjects. For the ordinary Balinese there is no irreverence in this: he has prepared the offerings

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according to the directions of specialists and has asked the help of the priest to bless them and dedicate them to the gods, and with that his task is ended. It is the priest's duty to see that the offering and the contact with the gods are successful; the ordinary man has no understanding of such things and does not have to concern himself with them.

Consecration as a priest gives the novice the right to perform offerings. And this ceremony of consecration, held among authorities with the assistance of a host of priests (*rĕsisangga*), is marked by great seriousness and attention. For the candidate himself the event is as a rule overwhelming. He is thrown completely off balance; he has to be supported in order to keep sitting upright and hardly knows what is happening to him. Fortunately he does not have to take any active part in the various ceremonies; on the contrary he must from the very beginning place himself in his mentor's hands, without daring to judge that any part of the proceedings might be done in a different way.

5

The Names for Consecration – Degrees and Forms

The ceremony of consecration has a number of names: *mĕdiksa, mĕkĕrtadiksita, mĕpurwita, mĕwintĕn, apodgala, pĕbrĕsihan, pĕngaskaran, nunas pinugraha. Mĕdiksa*, a word which can be used for every sort of consecration, is the most common term. *Mĕkĕrtadiksita* (in which the root *kĕrta* is no doubt the Sanskrit word *karta*, priest) refers more specifically to the consecration as a priest. According to Van der Tuuk[1] the derivation of the term *mĕpurwita* is uncertain, but the word may be related to *purohita* (priestly mentor) or the Javanese *pawitra. Apodgala, mĕwintĕn*, and *pĕbrĕsihan* are all three words indicating one part of the ceremony, the purification. *Pĕngaskaran*, similarly, refers to the 'death ceremonial' preceding the consecration proper, and *nunas pinugraha* signifies 'requesting permission'.

As is the case with most ceremonies on Bali, there are three degrees possible in performing the ceremony: *nista, madya*, and

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utama, the lesser, the average, and the exalted. The ceremony is called *nista* if the candidate participates in everyday life in the ordinary way on the day of consecration until the ceremony begins. *Madya* applies when the candidate spends his time in sitting motionless from early morning on, silent and with his eyes closed. *Utama* is the most exalted way: for it the candidate spends the whole of the day preceding the day of consecration lying on a *bale* in a small building, utterly motionless and wrapped in a white shroud, quite like a corpse, in a ritual symbolic of the death of the passions.

Besides these differences in degree there are also local differences in the consecration ceremony, and particularly the sequence of the several parts of the solemnity is not the same in the various regions of Bali. The following account is based on notes made at three consecrations of priests, one at Měngwi, one at Den Pasar, and one at Siděměn (in Karangasěm).

6

Preparation

Several days before the consecration the candidate has the required offerings and offering platforms made ready in the household temple.

The offerings for Sang Hyang Widi are arranged in the *sanggah kěmulan*, the shrine with the three compartments for the trinity Brahma, Wisnu, and Iswara, with Iswara conceived of as in the middle compartment, Brahma in the southern, and Wisnu in the northern. An offering of rice and money is arranged in each compartment. A *sanggar guru-tiga* is also erected – a shrine with three steps for Batara Siwa, Sadasiwa, and Paramasiwa, that is to say Sri Guru, Sri Adiguru, and Sri Paramadiguru. For each of the deities a rice offering and two money offerings are set ready. To the right of this *sanggar guru-tiga* there is a platform called *sanggar pagěnean* dedicated to the fire god, and to the left the *trěptrěpan*, an open pavilion containing a great variety of offerings. Finally a *sanggar surya*, a residence for Sang Hyang Surya or Siwaditya, the

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sun god, and the various *dewatas*, is erected. The so-called *widi-widana* offerings are made to them.

The candidate priest inquires of his wives which of them are willing to follow him into the priestly class, since he must divorce those who are not. Often it is not until shortly before his consecration that the priest-to-be marries his chief wife, who must be of equal birth; in that case the consecration ceremony is to be preceded by the ceremony of filing her teeth. According to the *Siwasasana*, a priest without a chief wife may not lead an offering where there is a *sanggar tawang*, a bamboo offering platform with three compartments for the Hindu trinity. Such a priest is called 'a mountain that does not enjoy the protection of a deity'.

Before the twentieth century a candidate never officially requested his mentor for consecration without first having ascertained that the ruler approved of his becoming a priest.

7

The Request

In the early morning of the day of consecration the *apipinton* ceremony takes place in the *pěměrajan*, the household temple. In this ceremony the pupil and his master gaze steadfastly at one another; this is the last time until the end of the solemnities that the pupil may look upon his mentor. At this time he also gives the *punyakěrti* and the *jauman* to his *guru*. The *punyakěrti* consists of a new set of clothing, a complete bed, a set of cushions, a parasol, and the priestly wage. The *jauman* comprises cooked and raw food, the adoption offering, eggs, coconuts, the six-part glutinous-rice offering, rice pastry, and various delicacies such as steamed rice with chopped coconut and red sugar, biscuits, and sugar pastry.

With these gifts the pupil presents himself to his mentor and begs him for his paternal love. His official request runs more or less as follows:

> Exalted *guru, siwa*, master among the yogis, grant the request I make of you in all humility. It is true that what I offer you is a trifle, and what I ask of you is incomparably great, for it is nothing less than your love that

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793

I beg. Through the purifying forces at your disposal, let me be liberated from the sins that are in me and rid my body of all blemishes and stains, so that my purity may be like yours, so that I, too, may partake of your perfection and spiritual well-being; then your aspiration will also be mine, focused upon Sang Hyang Ayu [Siwa]. I appeal to your loving-kindness, that I may take a place in purity and spotlessness in the seat of Sang Hyang Darma to exercise the priestly functions. Thus my desire is to become a priest, to contribute to the well-being of the world, and to attain Sang Hyang Kalĕpasan [the perfect end]. This is my desire.

Then the pupil pays homage to his mentor, who replies:

My son, you have now turned to me with your request, since you have reached the end of your own capabilities. But it is to the Sang Hyang Triguru, to Siwa, Sadasiwa, and Paramasiwa, that you ought to turn; pay homage to them, and may they hear your request. Give your attention to what I shall advise you, for only this moment may you look me in the eyes: do so with full attention. Henceforward you may not look at me, from the crown of my head to the tip of my big toe. Henceforth you shall abstain from everything that has any semblance of insolence, impurity, disobedience, violence of passion, imprecation, or even disapprobation, certainly as regards your *guru*. You should be complaisant and firm in your loyalty to the priestly class. You will rely on Sang Hyang Darma and remain free of the *trimala* [the three shortcomings: wrong speech, wrong actions, and wrong thoughts]. Strive constantly towards the good in your behaviour, be pure also in your thoughts, do not consort with malefactors, and shun evil deeds. For today you shall be purified by God, and this redemption ought to continue until the hereafter. Through my intercession receive now deliverance.

Then the *guru* proceeds to the ceremonial of deliverance, the ritual of *bayakala* and *lukat*, reciting magically potent prayers and *mantras*. In the *bayakala* the candidate waves smoke from the offerings towards himself. Then he rinses his mouth three times with holy water (*lukat*) which has been blessed by the *pĕdandas* present, passes his hands across his face three times with it, and takes three sips of it. After this ritual the *guru* offers him his *sĕpah*.

Following this ceremonial the pupil is charged to take the bath that will purify him in body and soul, after which he will be clothed for the consecration.

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8

The Offerings

The mentor then goes to the household temple, where he takes his place in his prayer pavilion amidst a variety of offerings and consecration requisites. He begins by blessing all these articles and the offering platforms. Since the consecration is a mixture of purification, death, and adoption ceremonials as well as a consecration ceremony proper, the offerings, too, are highly composite, and it is hardly possible to describe the articles present except in so far as they are introduced in passing in the account of the consecration below.

However, two articles, the *pĕngguruyaga* and the *pulakĕrti*, deserve special attention. According to Van der Tuuk *pĕngguruyaga* is "what one offers one's mentor out of gratitude".[6] Juynboll describes it as "a teacher's wage".[7] The word is also frequently written *panguriyaga*, and then signifies "certain offerings at the *ngaben*",[8] while *pĕmuriyagan*, "spices, sagwire, a knife, thrown next to the food for the *piratas* in the graveyard",[9] is also associated with it. The Balinese themselves do not make a connection between the word and *guru*, and explain *panguriyaga* as *panguri-angga*, 'after the body', thus in death. Hence they apparently have in mind the rôle the article plays in cremation. The *pĕngguruyaga* consists of a round, pie-shaped object made of plaited bamboo. The edge is adorned with flexible decorations cut out of *lontar* leaf, and inside is a *lontar* with holy syllables written on it. The significance of this *pĕngguruyaga* will be considered presently.

The *pulakĕrti* or *purakĕrti* is described by Van der Tuuk as "a pyramid-shaped offering decoration in which white rice, yellow *bĕnang*, *bĕnang tridatu*, and fifty doits are placed".[10] *Purakĕrti* also means "karma, what one has done in an earlier incarnation",[11] while Van Eck defines *pulakĕrti* as a blessing, a consecration.[12] This offering serves as an atonement for what the new priest has misdone in his 'former life' (for the pupil must 'die' before he becomes a priest).

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9

The Bath Before the Consecration

793 While the *guru* is busy in the household temple, the pupil is taken
788 over by the other priests and the fellow pupils. Singing songs, they half carry him to a shed in the middle of the compound where corpses are washed. If one or more wives of the candidate are elevated into the priestly class together with their husband, priestesses and other Brahman women wash them in a second bathhouse. At the head of the procession are 'the symbols of the dignity of the dead', the *upachara pĕbrĕsihan*, carried under parasols and surrounded by lance-bearers just as in a funeral procession.

In the white tent everything is ready for the washing: bathwater in new pots, curcuma, odiferous flowers, scented oil, a toothwash, a pleasant-smelling hairwash, and the white shroud. The candidate is put down in an uncomfortable half-seated position. Supported in that position, his body is completely rubbed over with curcuma, then *pĕnĕmbak* water (used in cremation after the body has been laid in the animal-shaped coffin) is poured out over him.

[764 After this the body is rubbed with *gadung sĕkapa*, the fine-chopped
824] bulbs of a plant also used for treating corpses, and chicken eggs are rolled over the body. In Balinese belief these last two treatments have the purpose of giving the dead person an attractive, pale-yellow skin when he is reincarnated. Then the candidate is clad completely in white, with white cotton on his feet. A *pĕdanda* combs his hair and binds it in a tight knot.

The whole ceremonial is reminiscent of the treatment of a corpse, and during it all the candidate must occupy himself with practising yoga in order to cremate all inward impurities. He must be one with Siwa in his thoughts, and must keep his voice and breath completely under control, this being the only way to arrive at the fulfilment of his inward desires.

Then the candidate priest and his wives sit silent and motionless, their eyes closed, their hands in their laps, to wait until the mentor

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sends word that he has finished the ordinary service and that they must come to the household temple. If it is very far from the bathhouse to the temple they are placed in palanquins and carried to the temple gate, surrounded by priests and relatives, and to the constant accompaniment of songs. The order is as follows: first comes the (usually young) chief wife, then the other wives, and finally the candidate himself.

10

Homage to the Gods and the Guru

At the door of the household temple the group climbs out of the palanquins and is shown inside, supported by priests and relatives. The *guru* is seated with his back turned to the gate and his face to the offerings and the *sanggars*. Since the candidate and his wives must always keep their bowed heads turned towards him, they enter sideways. Not until they have come to the *sanggars* may they turn their backs to him, in order to bow to the deity. They seat themselves in front of the *sanggars*, bring their empty hands together, and in this way pay homage to Surya, the sun god. This is called *mĕbakti puyung*. Then comes the *mĕbakti* to the *sanggah kĕmulan*, in which first a white flower, then a black one, and finally a red one are held between the fingertips. This homage is in part to the ancestors, whose names will also go to make up the priestly name to be assumed by the new *pĕdanda*. The *mĕbakti* to the *sanggar pagĕnean* is made with flower petals containing two doits and that to the *sanggar guru-tiga* with petals containing eleven doits. The final homage is for Anantaboga, the serpent that sustains the world.

In conclusion a double *mĕbakti* is made in the direction of the *guru*. Then the candidate priest and his wives are helped to their feet and led to him. On their way to the prayer pavilion where he is busy in full regalia, a stop is made for a moment for the *bayakala*, a purification by fire in which the candidate and his wives wave the smoke of smouldering cherrywood towards themselves.

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II

The Consecration Ceremonials

793 796 The candidate and his wives then climb the stone platform on which the prayer pavilion stands and bow three times, making an empty-handed *mĕbakti* before the *guru*. He has meanwhile turned half-way round towards the group, who continue to bow their heads. Again he serves holy water and sprinkles them with the *isuh-isuh*, a holy water sprinkler made of blades of grass. Then they put on a white band running across the right shoulder, the breast, and the back, and the *guru* gives each of them a finger ring to wear.

After this the pupil and his wives each in turn wash the big toe of the *guru*'s left foot three times and dry it with a rough cloth. Then they rub the cloth over their faces and lay it on their right shoulders. A little fat is placed on their foreheads, and a bit of yellow rice is pressed on the spot. Then each of them in turn licks the priest's big toe three times, after which the *guru* presses his toe to their fontanels three times in a ritual called *napak*, or *nuhun pada*. It is because of this ritual of the *napak* that the *guru* is also called *tapakan* or *sĕsuhunan* by his consecrated disciple. The *napak* is the essential part of the whole consecration: with it the new priest confirms his lasting submission to his *guru*, even though he himself has now become a priest.

The new priest now receives from the *guru* several betel leaves on which the *sastra wiyanjana* is written as an outward sign that the pupil has emanated from the *guru*'s exalted yoga exercises, that he is the child born of the *guru*'s prayers and is as sublime as the *guru*'s own children and grandchildren. Hence the intention is that the mentor becomes one with his pupil, just as the *wiswa* is nothing but the *arda chandra windu nada*, becoming Sang Hyang Ongkara.[11]

The mentor next rubs the *pĕngambut* (consisting of three *alang-alang* blades bound at the bottom with a chain of twenty-five doits) over the backs of the pupil and his wives as a symbolic purification. He then sprinkles them with scented water mixed

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with sandalwood ash. After that follows the *mĕlĕtik panchadesa*, 793
in which the *guru*, holding a lotus over the pupil's head, clips it 796
five times in the four directions and directly above the head. The clipped petals are carefully collected and put into a small basket. Then the *guru* takes the *pancha kosika*, *alang-alang* blades to which a priest's ring has been attached, and recites the appropriate *wedas* over it. He pulls three hairs from the pupil's crown through the ring and cuts them off together with the *pancha kosika*. These hairs are also put in the basket. It apparently sometimes happens that this basket is thrown in the river, but as a rule it is buried at the head of the *sanggah kĕmulan*.

Again the *guru* begins reciting *wedas*, then he takes the *karaboda*[14] (a chain of 225 doits) and moves it backward and forward over the pupil's head, after which the pupil waves towards himself with his hands. Next the *guru* lifts up the *pungu-pungu*, a sugarloaf-shaped mass of half-cooked rice containing a candle, and set in a golden bowl. This object is moved around the pupil's head three times while the mentor recites *wedas* and the pupil again waves towards his body with his hands. The object is also pressed against the pupil's hands, his breast, and his fontanel. This ritual is symbolic of an admonition how man should be: the candle is the inward spirit, which should occupy the highest place and hence is set in a pyramid-shaped object. Moving it around three times is symbolic of the three forces: breath, voice, and spirit.

Then the *guru* takes up the *kalpika*. Every priest of Siwa wears this floral ornament in the fold between his head and his hairknot. [301]
The *guru* blesses the *kalpika* with *pujas* and hands it over to the pupil, who accepts it with his right hand above his head, supporting his elbow with his left hand – a very humble way of accepting something. He presses the decoration against his breast and then fastens it in his hair. Meanwhile the *guru* scatters flowers, first three times, then six times, and sprinkles the pupil from the *swamba*, the holy-water basin standing on a tripod.

After this the pupil greets the *guru* with the finger ring which he had earlier been allowed to put on his finger and which he now returns.

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793 Next the *guru* takes up the *prastana*, the adoption offering, while
796 reciting *wedas*. The pupil presses it against his breast, after which the *guru* gives him a drink of 'cremation holy water', *tirta pĕbrĭsihan*, then holy water from the disciple's own household temple. Following this the disciple may put on the *karawista*, a headband of *alang-alang* that he receives from his *guru* after the latter has consecrated it by *pujas*.

[301] The *guru* blesses the *tĕtĕbas*, two armbands in the three sacred colours of red, black, and white, and the pupil puts one on each arm. He then tastes foods of various savours. The *guru* recites *wedas* over his lamp and the pupil waves the essence towards himself; the same thing is done with the censer and the prayer bell.

12

Pĕngguruyaga and Pĕnugrahan

At this point the *pulakĕrti* is blessed and the pupil waves the essence towards himself. This is the moment when the *pĕngguruyaga* is transferred to the *guru*. After the pupil has made three *sĕmbahs* the *guru* hands him a *lontar* leaf wrapped in a sheath of betel leaf, a costly object that is accepted, together with the bag of 'cremation spices' (*ponjen*), in the same humble way described above in connection with the floral decoration. The pupil presses the *lontar* leaf against his breast and makes three *sĕmbahs*, after which he withdraws, walking backward, supported and accompanied by the same assistants who had shown him in.

The *lontar* is usually called a *nugraha* or a *pĕnugrahan*, both of which mean 'a mark of favour', or else *chĕchatu* or *chatu*, that is to say 'victuals', or more fully *pĕchatu ring pati urip*, 'victuals for life and death'. The pupil can also regard the *pĕnugrahan* as a certificate of priesthood: he must study its contents closely and contemplate them, and must also keep them secret from the uninitiated. The heart of the contents always consists of the *rwa bineda*, the *triaksara*, and the *ongkara*.[15]

Once outside the gate of the household temple the disciple may move forward in the ordinary way, but he must not break his

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silence. When he comes to the place where he earlier had achieved 793
the death of his passions, he finds there the *pĕngguruyaga* and, 796
sunk in meditation, raises his left foot above it, with his eyes focused on the point of his nose. Then all the children and grandchildren of the new priest's *guru* and all his fellow-disciples make a *sĕmbah* before him. One at a time the same persons lift up the *pĕngguruyaga* and place it on their heads for a moment.

The *pĕngguruyaga* and the *pĕnugrahan* are to be considered as a gift and a counter-gift. Both serve to represent the delivering power of the donor at the death of the recipient. For this reason they are indicated as *pangĕntas*, deliverance. If the disciple dies first, his *guru*'s *pĕnugrahan* is burnt with his corpse as *pangĕntas*. When the *guru* later also dies, his late disciple's *pĕngguruyaga* is likewise burnt with his body as the *pangĕntas* of the disciple.

13

The Acquisition of Full Priestly Competence

With this the actual ceremony of consecration is ended. Even so 793
the new priest does not yet have full competence to perform the priestly functions. For the first three days after the consecration he may not avail himself of holy water made in his own bathing place, but uses the water in which the *guru* washed his feet during the consecration.

After a maximum of three months he presents his *guru* with offerings similar to those he gave when making his official request for priesthood. These offerings serve as evidence that he has completed his study of the *wedas*. Called *pangrĕmĕkan*, they consist [431]
of money, uncooked rice, cooked rice, glutinous rice, pastry, and sixteen thousand doits as *arta pamraskara*, expiatory money.

After presenting these offerings the disciple asks to be allowed to *ngĕlinggihang Sang Hyang Weda*, to deposit the *wedas*. The *guru* then gives him an examination to determine whether he can recite the *weda* texts by heart, knows the contents of the various manuals for priests, and is familiar with the customs regarding the *pujas*. On completion of the examination the *guru* grants the permission

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793 requested. The new *pĕdanda* then assumes his priestly name, and thenceforward may recite the *wedas*, pronounce the *mantras*, sprinkle holy water, use the *bajra*, the symbolic thunderbolt, make the *manchagiri*, the 'five offerings', and prepare and distribute holy water every morning.

14

The Privileged Position of the Priests

793 643 692 The priests held a very prominent place in the former Balinese principalities. Though law books such as the *Widi Pĕpinchatan* and the *Siwasasana* state explicitly that the priests should follow royal regulations, the same books also point out that it is the duty of the ruler to take the directions of the priests into consideration in issuing such regulations, for the ruler and the priests exercise the power of government together. Elsewhere the two are compared to a helmsman and a ship, which cannot reach a certain goal without one another.

793 554 Nor were the priests at all encumbered by royal decrees. If the ruler needed something from them he had to request it. They were exempt from taxes and services, a privilege they still claim as regards income tax and commutation of soccage service. Various of their privileges were also shared by their subordinates who enjoyed the 'shadow of the banyans'.

792 692 Ordinary justice and usual punishments were unfit for them. Judiciary power was exercised either directly by the ruler or by the mentor of the accused priest, while in dubious cases the whole congregation of priests gathered together for a decision.

It goes without saying that the word of an ordinary man was considered of much less value than that of a priest. In many cases the latter could remove every suspicion by means of a purification rite in the presence of his mentor. The costs of this ceremony fell to the accuser, who was punished besides.

793 696 If a priest was really shown to be guilty, the purification was in many cases preceded by a pilgrimage consisting of bathing in the sea alternated with a stay in the mountains. There were three

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degrees of severity for this pilgrimage, depending on the seriousness of the transgression. If the priest had committed an *utama-dosa*, a major transgression, he had to spend four full moons in the mountains and sixty days by the sea; for a *madyadosa*, an 'average' transgression, two full moons in the mountains and thirty days by the sea were sufficient; and for a *nistadosa*, a minor transgression, fifteen days in each place were prescribed.

The purification in the presence of the *guru* was considered as a self-administered oath; if it was full moon Sang Hyang Chandra, the moon god, was invoked as witness, and Sang Hyang Surya, the sun god, if it was new moon.

Another punishment and self-purification was a pilgrimage on foot during which the priest had to pay his devotions at a set number of sacred springs. This sort of pilgrimage sometimes also became a trial by ordeal if it was stipulated that the priest's guilt would be proven in case he became so ill on his penitential journey that he could not bring it to an end. The law books sometimes are very exacting as regards this sort of pilgrimage. The *Siwa-sasana*, for example, requires of a priest who is accused by another priest of a serious misdemeanour that he shall go on such a penitential pilgrimage outside his own region for a full 1,050 days and must visit a sacred spring every day.

15

Dismissal from the Priesthood

If one recalls how difficult it is to acquire the priestly state, and with what solemnity it is granted, it need hardly be stated that the loss of it is one of the most highly emotional events that can occur in Balinese society. Even so, it may happen that a *pĕdanda* so seriously misbehaves that removal from the priesthood is imperative, because otherwise the dignity of the priestly class would be gravely impaired. It should be pointed out that in earlier times neither the ruler nor the judiciary had the right of removing a priest from his function, nor do the indigenous Balinese courts, the Courts of Kĕrta, have that power today. The power is held

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793 exclusively by the guilty *pĕdanda*'s mentor. The mentor does have
681 the right to request the ruler to summon a congregation of all the priests of the land for consultation in such a case, but the final decision remains with him.

Making such a decision is anything but a pleasant task for a mentor. In 1927, for example, a priest in the very conservative region of Karangasĕm swindled a man of the *desa* (for whom he had appeared as a witness shortly before) with *lontar* leaves he himself had forged. The court then asked the priest's mentor whether she – it was a priestess, a *pĕdanda istĕri* – continued to recognize her disciple as a priest. At her request she was several times given a delay to think over the question, but when she asked the court for postponement yet another time the judges urged her finally to make her opinion known. At this she went outside to consult with colleagues, but when she failed to return after quite some time one of the judges went to see what was happening. Outside he found her unconscious amidst an alarmed host of priests. Her emotions had apparently become too much for her.

Usually the *guru* refuses to pronounce for such an exclusion from the priesthood. In the case above, for example, the mentor finally felt that it would be sufficient for a purification ceremony to be held, followed by an oath taken in her presence by the priest who had misbehaved that such a thing would not happen again.

In this connection the question arises who takes over the authority of the mentor in case of his death. The authority devolves in the following way: after the mentor's death come first the *guru puhun*, that is to say his father and grandfather, then the *guru putra*, his son and grandson, and finally the *sanak-sandakan*, the eldest of his living disciples.

16

Conclusion

793 Anyone who wishes to form an opinion of the Balinese priests must beware of the verdict of various Western writers that they are a kind of spiritual quacks who attempt to impress the ignorant

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populace by reciting Sanskrit texts they themselves do not understand, and for the rest are interested only in making money by selling holy water. 793

The *pĕdandas* are convinced that the recitation of sacred texts (albeit uncomprehended ones) in a prescribed manner, combined with breath control and various body and hand positions while the spirit forces itself to union with the deity, causes certain supernatural forces to operate. Those forces can impart themselves to fire and water, which as a result also share in the special effect.

During my prolonged stay on Bali I came to know priests for whom the exaltation of their office meant everything, as well as others who neglected the most elementary priestly duties, with earthly possessions as their only goal. And finally there were those who struggled with themselves and stumbled, those to whom De la Vigne's beautiful lines are applicable:

> Au prêtre qui t'implore accorde ton appui,
> Toi qui voulus, grand Dieu, que toute créature
> Obéit, hors lui seul, au cri de sa nature.
> Dieu, prends pitié du prêtre: étouffe l'homme en lui!

Singaraja, February, 1928

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The State Temples of Mĕnowi

by

C. J. Grader

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"De rijkstempels van Mengwi" (The State Temples of Mĕngwi) comprises the notes of a field trip through the area made by the author, C. J. Grader, in November, 1949. The study, which is presented here in unabridged translation, was published in Dutch in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Journal of Indonesian Philology, Geography, and Ethnology), LXXXIII (1949), 394-423.

[p.-154 contains no textual material]

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The State Temples of Mĕngwi

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the principality of Mĕngwi, once renowned in the history of Bali, was worsted in battle by the surrounding princedoms of Badung, Tabanan, and Gianyar. The territory was annexed by the victors, and that *status quo* was maintained after Dutch authority was established in southern Bali in the years 1906–1908. As late as 1938, when the principalities were re-established on Bali, the descendants of the earlier dynasty attempted to have Mĕngwi restored, but for various reasons their wish was not granted.

In this connection it is of importance to point out that the arrangements made by the former ruling house of Mĕngwi for the maintenance of two of its state temples and the periodical offering ceremonial there still obtain, despite the fall of the political unit.

These two state temples are situated in the extreme north of the present region of Badung, in the former sub-district of Charangsari, which stretches to the north in a narrow strip to where the mountains to the east of Lake Bratan and Mount Pĕngelengan level off as the Chatur Plateau. In Balinese terminology both temples are mountain sanctuaries (*puras puchak* or *puras bukit*). They are called Pura Puchak Bon and Pura Puchak Tiingan, after the villages in whose territories they are located.

The *pĕmaksan*, the worship group in the more restricted sense charged with maintaining the temple grounds and buildings and caring for the performance of the offering ceremonials, consists of the villages in the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* of Pĕlaga, Bĕlok, Sidan, and Tiingan. The villages included in these *pĕrbĕkĕlans* are shown in Table 1.

It should be pointed out that at the present time the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* Pĕlaga and Bĕlok have been consolidated into one administrative

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TABLE 1: THE PĒMAKSAN OF THE MOUNTAIN SANCTUARIES AT TINGAN AND BON

Pēmākšan	Desa	Number of Inhabitants	Number of Road-Tax Payers
Pēlaga	Pēlaga	270	26
	Kiyadan	300	29
	Bukian	300	30
	Nungnung	330	38
Bēlok	Bēlok	280	45
	Lawak	260	39
	Bon	250	22
	Sēkarmukti	230	26
	Jēmpanang	210	25
Sidan	Sidan	400	83
	Sēlantang	130	27
	Pēnikit	110	18
Tingan	Sēmanik	300	47
	Tingan	480	78
	Tinggan	190	28
	Auman	380	61

782 794 area, since on the death of the functionary at Bēlok it proved impossible to find a capable replacement.

The group of persons responsible for the care of the temple in the strict sense consists of the core villagers (*kĕrama desa*) of the sixteen villages, that is to say those people working a part of the communal village lands. This does not mean that the other inhabitants of the villages do not take part in the cult of the temples; also non-core villagers go without fail to the temples with their offerings on holy days to present them and pay homage to the deity, but they do so as individuals rather than as members of a group.

Nor is it only the inhabitants of the four *pĕrbĕkĕlans* who present offerings and make their devotions. Everyone who feels the urge to do so may participate, though the usage is restricted to persons who recognize a certain tie with the former principality of Mĕngwi, whether as an individual or as a member of a certain family. According to local informants it frequently happens that even people now living in other regions take part in ceremonies at the two mountain sanctuaries.

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The members of the royal house of Badung, which took over the rights of the dynasty formerly ruling in Měngwi after the fall of that realm, also maintain an interest in the upkeep of the temple and do not fail either to be present or to send representatives to the religious ceremonies. The reason for this is clearly their desire to obtain divine sanction in order to legitimate themselves as the lawful successors to the many time-honoured dynastic rights of Měngwi.

While the core villagers of the four *pĕrbĕkĕlans* are the persons strictly responsible for the care of the temples, the remaining inhabitants lend their assistance on the occasion of extraordinary temple repairs and other quite expensive provisions, just as they do in the case of their own village temples. It is also possible for voluntary contributions to be made.

There are state temples in other parts of Bali as well. To mention a few examples, in the region of Tabanan, bordering on Badung to the west, there are four sanctuaries which play the same rôle there that Pura Puchak Bon and Pura Puchak Tiingan played for Měngwi in earlier times and for Badung today. They are the *puras* of Batu Kau, Pĕtali, Bĕsikalung, and Tambawaras, all of which lie at the southern foot of Gunung Batu Kau in the region of Tabanan. For the region of Bangli there are among others Pura Kĕhĕn, to the north of the town of Bangli, and the temples of Tĕgĕh Koripan and Dalĕm Bĕlingkang in the district of Kintamani.

This is far from a complete list of the sanctuaries that can be considered as state temples; nor has anything yet been said regarding the differences in system which they display. It may suffice to note that not all state temples are mountain sanctuaries in the sense that they are located at either the foot or the top of a mountain or hill; that some of them are closely linked with the veneration of the mountain lakes, which are presumed to have a regularizing influence on the irrigation water, for which reason the irrigation associations or *subaks* are the primary groups caring for the temples; and finally that in some cases there is a clear correlation in the system of state temples between the worship of

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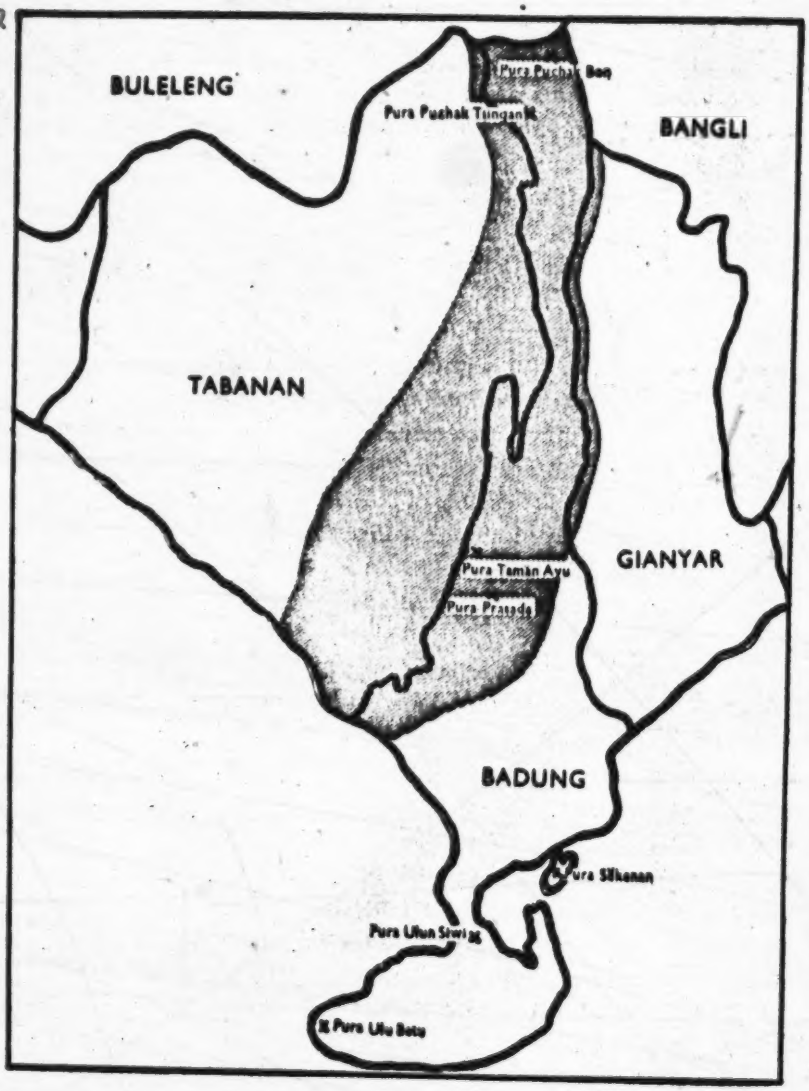

THE FORMER PRINCIPALITY OF MĔNGWI

(The shaded area indicates the approximate extent of Mĕngwi before 1891.)

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the gods of the upper world and the exorcism of the forces of the nether world. This correlation is sometimes given expression by providing the mountain temple, where the worship of the upper-worldly gods takes place, a counterpart in a sea temple, where the nether-worldly forces are served. Elsewhere, as is the case of the four Tabanan state sanctuaries, the temple complex itself has an upper-worldly and a nether-worldly section. The complex of Bĕsakih, which in its several dozen sanctuaries gives expression to the religious unity of all Bali, is a striking example: the complex is divided into two separate groups of temples, each with its own officiants in charge of the veneration of the upper world or the nether world.

After this brief digression on state temples in general, let us return to the two Měngwi state mountain sanctuaries, restricting ourselves primarily to the sanctuary at Tiingan.

In popular parlance Pura Puchak Tiingan has a number of other names as well. The term *pura puchak* derives from the fact that the temple stands at the foot of Tiingan Hill. This hill may at the same time be considered as the top of Mount Pĕngelengan, the mountain peak which dominates the uplands of Badung. That fact can be associated with the thought that the mountain, as a cosmic symbol, is a royal attribute, and for this reason the place to be chosen for the founding of a state sanctuary. To give expression to the central significance of the temple for the whole region, the *pura puchak* is also called *pĕngastulan jagat*, that is to say 'the place of worship for the whole realm', while another name, *pĕnataran agung*, refers to the circumstance that the temple was a sanctuary of the ruler. Finally there is the designation *pura pĕmaksan*, a term referring to the worship group in the strict sense, the *pĕmaksan*, consisting of the core villagers of the four *pĕrbĕkĕlans*.

As of November, 1949, the senior temple officiant and superintendent is the *pĕmangku* Jĕro Wayan Rawi, who also belongs to the board of village elders in the *desa* of Tiingan itself as *kĕbayan*. His status as superintendent of the *pura puchak* is recognized by the regional authorities of Badung, as represented by the district head of Abiansĕmal, the district containing the *desa* of Tiingan and

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all four of the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* whose core villagers constitute the state-temple worship group. The function is hereditary in the family of Jĕro Wayan Rawi, who succeeded his father as temple *pĕmangku*. To indicate the special dignity of the post he is referred to as *pĕmangku gĕde*.

According to Jĕro Wayan Rawi, the chief deity of Pura Puchak Tiingan is considered to be the husband of the reputedly female deity residing at the state temple at Bon. This relation is given expression by referring to the two deities as *lanang-istĕri*, male and female.

There are some ten chapels in Pura Puchak Tiingan. In appearance the most important of these is the one for the deity of Mount Pĕngelengan, who has an eleven-roofed *meru* as his residence. To the east of this is a *meru* with five roofs dedicated to the deity of Mount Bon.

For both temples the anniversary falls on a full moon: that of Pura Puchak Tiingan on full moon in the fourth month, Kapat, and that of Bon on full moon in the tenth month, Kadasa. It is interesting that the date of the Bon temple anniversary was recently changed: before that it fell on full moon in the eighth month, Kaulu. The holiday was shifted on request, since the new date was more convenient for a number of *desas*.

Among the villagers of Tiingan the belief is widespread that both the state temple at Tiingan and the one at Bon still 'belong' to the descendants of the former Mĕngwi dynasty. Supervision over the proper maintenance of the temples and collection of the accompanying levies was traditionally entrusted to the family of the lords of Charangsari. I failed to verify which family might be meant, but it can hardly refer to anyone but the last *mancha* of Charangsari, I Gusti Ngurah Rai Pachung, who took his life in the autumn of 1932 by throwing himself into the deep ravine of the Ngongkong River. A son of the *mancha* was I Gusti Ngurah Rai, the well-known commander of the nationalist troops on Bali who was killed in the battle of Marga, in Tabanan, on 20 November, 1947. On the anniversary of his death in 1949 progressive nationalist groups organized a large-scale memorial celebration which

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lasted several days and roused interest even in remote parts of Bali. A moderate tone dominated the celebration, at least to all appearances. Invitations to attend the commemoration were sent to the regional and central Balinese authorities. Among the motives preventing the ruler of Badung (of the Paměchutan family) from being present at the ceremony, the old controversy between the dynasties of Badung and Měngwi will in all probability have played a rôle.

Everywhere on Bali history has deep roots, though it rarely leaves clear traces. Factual historiography is alien to the Balinese, and there is a tendency to mythologize important historical personages and events. Perhaps it is precisely for this reason that the after-effects of certain events are to be felt for so long. In the Měngwi area the system of state temples helps to keep the memory of the days of political and dynastic glory alive. A more or less latent but quite general feeling of political discontent is still to be found in the area. Before the war this feeling found expression in certain nuances in governability, and it is not out of the question that such matters will also make themselves felt in the growing national and political consciousness of the present day.

It has already been pointed out that in popular parlance the relation between the state temples and the dynasty of Měngwi is given expression in the statement that the sanctuaries 'belong' to the erstwhile royal family. Nonetheless the Abiansĕmal district head is recognized as the person directly in charge of maintenance of the temple, and it is considered natural that the reigning family of Badung should participate in ceremonies at the dynastic sanctuaries of the former house of Měngwi. There is a clear realization that in this relationship between temple and dynasty a tie is involved of a higher order than can be expressed in such terms as 'property' or 'ownership'.

A temple becomes a state sanctuary because the ruler participates in its cult. As a result of that participation the sanctuary is given a sort of legitimation in the eyes of everyone under the authority of the ruler – also of those who belong to upper castes, for the ruler, in the exercise of his functions, is considered as the

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792 highest authority, with power over all Brahmins, even the priests.
659 For this reason there is no objection on the part of the subjects to participating in ceremonies at a temple where the ruler pays homage in his official capacity. The ruler, however, must restrict himself to paying homage to certain gods who enjoy general veneration, gods who are on a level with Surya, Siwa, Mahadewa, and the deity of Gunung Agung. Sometimes the deity worshipped has a special significance as an expression of the tie between the dynasty and the territory ruled: this is, for example, the case with the deity of Mount Pĕngelengan, which mountain dominates the chief river basins of traditional Mĕngwi.

The two mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon were not the only state temples in the former realm of Mĕngwi. Among others there were Pura Taman Ayun, in the capital of the principality, and Pura Prasada, or Sada, at Kapal, a short distance from the capital. There is also reputedly a certain link between those temples and Pura Sĕkenan on the island of Sarangan, Pura Ulun Siwi at Jimbaran, and Pura Ulu Batu on Bukit Peninsula. There was no opportunity to trace the nature and essence of this link, but it is not impossible that, since the last three temples are all of them located nearby the sea, they may be looked upon as the nether-worldly counterparts of the state temples in the mountains and at the centre of the realm.

[121] For a clarification of the conceptions underlying the notion of a state temple it would be of value for a closer study to be made of the mountain sanctuaries at Bon and Tiingan together with Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Prasada. However, during my visits there was no time to acquire more than superficial information. This was true especially as regards Pura Taman Ayun.

769 In that temple one is struck by the clear expression of the royal
792 dynasty's ancestor cult. In the inner court, in the eastern row of
346 altars, there is a large *paibon*, oriented towards the east in the usual
[illegible]v. As is pointed out elsewhere in these notes, the *paibon* (a brick
[illegible]ucture containing a tripartite brick altar) plays a rôle in the worship of ancestors; at the same time it occupies a prominent

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place in clan temples. In view of the presence of this ancestor altar the sanctuary of Taman Ayun may be placed in the category of royal family temples or *pĕmĕrajans*. [769] [792] 346

In both the eastern and the northern row of altars in the inner court of the temple there are a large number of pagodas or *merus*, as well as several altars and divine lodgings of other shapes. There was no opportunity to inquire to which gods the seats are dedicated, though it was learnt that the so-called *sadkayangan* are present.

The term *sadkayangan* is used to indicate six scattered, prominent temples, though there is no agreement, either among informants or in the literature, as to which temples they are. It is sometimes said that the term indicates those temples which have made a place among their chapels for altars to the gods of the six chief temples.

According to informants at Pura Taman Ayun, the six chapels there consist of pagodas for the gods of Gunung Agung (Pura Bĕsakih), Gunung Batur (Pura Batur at Kalanganyar), Batu Kau (Pura Luhur near Wongaya Gĕde), the mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon, Pura Sĕkenan on Sarangan, Pura Ulun Siwi at Jimbaran, and Pura Ulu Batu on Bukit. In Pura Prasada at Kapal the same temples are mentioned as constituting the *sadkayangan*. [776]

In this list, however, there are not six, but eight temples. In the case of the mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon the two deities might be viewed as one entity, since they are husband and wife, but even then there are seven names mentioned in connection with the *sadkayangan*. This point would seem to require further investigation.

In the *sadkayangan* according to the Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Prasada enumeration there are five sanctuaries in the mountains and three temples on or nearby the seashore. In the former is concentrated the veneration of Bali's two great mountain clusters: the Batur–Gunung Agung complex and the Batu Kau complex. Of the second group of temples Sĕkenan and Ulu Batu are on the very shore, while Ulun Siwi is located on the narrow isthmus connecting Bukit Peninsula with the rest of Bali.

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792 The ritual in the mountain sanctuaries, especially at Pura Batur
771 and Pura Luhur, but also at Pura Bĕsakih, is closely linked with the veneration of the mountain lakes and supplication for the blessing of irrigation water. In Pura Luhur, near Wongaya Gĕde, there are altars for the gods of the mountain lakes Bratan, Buyan, and Tambĕlingan. In Pura Batur, at Kalanganyar, the veneration of Lake Batur plays an important rôle. And Pura Bĕsakih's deity of Gunung Agung, usually further identified as Mahadewa, is supplicated to make irrigation water abundant not only locally in Karangasĕm but in the most diverse regions. To mention one example, on certain holy days all Bali pays homage to Pura Bĕsakih, with holy water for the *subaks* of a whole region being requested in a few prominent temples in each region. Before the war the initiative for such a ceremony was taken by the *pĕruman kĕrtanĕgara*, the council of ruling princes, while arrangements within each region were made by the chief agricultural official.[1]

792 A second fact that attracts one's attention in Pura Taman Ayun
346 is the presence of two so-called *chandis* of red brick. The *chandis*
769 are located in the northernmost part of the inner court, the *ulu* or 'head end'. One of these *chandis* stands approximately in front of the *paibon*, the royal ancestor altar, while the second has a place in the northern row of altars. Neither of them is particularly large: their height is roughly four yards. Sometimes also called *prasada* or *lingga*, each *chandi* is a monumental profiled column. Informants at the temple were unable to provide any definite details on the significance of the *chandis*, nor could they say to which deity they were dedicated. However, it was suspected that the *chandis*, like the *paibon*, were related to the ancestor cult of the royal dynasty.

769 On Bali, of course, deified ancestors, like the gods themselves, are worshipped in various manifestations – or, to put it differently, in various stages of deification. The ordinary man, particularly, is quickly inclined to identify whole series of divine designations with one another, to declare them 'equivalent to each other'. For example, it is said that the goddess Sri is the same as Uma, Durga, Giriputri, Ibu Pĕrtiwi, and a number of others. There is a ten-

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dency to consider all these names as various manifestations of one 769
and the same goddess, differing whenever she appears in another quality. As Sri she is above all the goddess of the ripening paddy and the harvest. As Uma she is the deity of the *sawah* and the *tĭgalan* who nourishes the seedling in the soil and brings it to germination. Durga is the aspect she assumes as goddess of the temple of the dead, in which function she is mistress over the host of demons (*butakala*) threatening the growing crops with diseases and pestilences. As Giriputri she is the goddess of Gunung Agung, the most important mountain goddess and the consort of Mahadewa; on various occasions this divine couple is asked for holy water to be sprinkled on the fields and at the irrigation-water inlet to the *sawah* in order to secure a blessing for the crop. Finally Ibu Pĕrtiwi is her name when in connection with agriculture the forces slumbering in the earth, the fertility of the soil, are venerated. It goes without saying that these associations do not always run parallel with the more official genealogies derived from Hindu literature.

In the same way there are a number of fluctuating aspects in the worship of ancestors. A distinction is made between homage to parents and grandparents and that to more remote forebears. There is also a certain hierarchical relationship between the worship of ancestors in the household temple and that in the clan temple, while in some cases one might speak of temples of an even more extensive genealogical group. Moreover ancestors are worshipped collectively in the village temples: in the *pura puseh* the common ancestors are revered in their aspect of pioneers, in the *pura bale agung* as founders of the social order, and in the *manjangan sĕluwang*, the god seat fitted out with a pair of antlers found particularly in the clan temples, as the bringers of the culture of Majapahit, in Karangasĕm personified in the figure of the culture hero Ĕmpu Kuturan.

It should also be kept in mind that there can only be an ancestor cult once the souls of the dead, as a result of more or less complete performance of the death ritual, have been sufficiently purified to be considered as deified. But there are also gradual differences in the degree of deification.

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769 184 It hardly needs to be said that in all this there are substantial local variations in conception and terminology. There is, however, general agreement that the nomenclature used for the souls of the dead varies according to the degree to which their ties to the material, earthly world have been loosened. The souls of the dead for whom there has been no cremation ceremonial (or a ceremonial of like significance in areas where cremation is not customary) are not considered to be deified. At set times offerings are made to them, for example at the bedstead, and at the altar or temple to the deity Prajapati near the graveyards, but no place is given them in the household temples. (There are local exceptions to this rule, though they do not affect the general principle. In some villages in Klungkung, for example, one finds the *pĕtuutan*, literally *dépendance*, a small shrine built onto the household temple and meant for the not-yet-purified ancestors. Elsewhere, in eastern Karangasĕm, it sometimes happens that offerings are made to ancestors in the undeified stage at the base of the *paibon* or the *sanggah kĕmulan*.)

Ancestors who have not yet been purified are distinguished from deified ancestors in customary terminology, the two types being referred to as *sang pitra* and *sang pitara* respectively. The specific nature of the latter category is sometimes further defined as 'who are already purified'. The extent to which the ceremonies following cremation have been completed determines the degree to which the souls of the ancestors are considered to have been merged in the deity. For rulers and other prominent personages these ceremonies ought to find their culmination and conclusion in *maligya*, the ceremony in which the soul is transported to the highest heaven.

Absorption in the deity takes place particularly in connection with the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Wisnu, and Iswara. There would also appear to be an indigenous Balinese trinity of the male and female ancestors together with Surya, the sun god. Moreover there is a certain relationship between the worship of the ancestors and that of Sri and Sĕdana, the deities of the harvest and of wealth. Mention has already been made of the cult of the

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ancestors as the founders of the social order, the pioneers, and the bringers of Majapahit culture. 769 184

The various forms of ancestor worship are tied up with the emanation theory of the creation of the world, which is a living reality for broad circles of the Balinese people. Stated in general terms, that theory amounts to this: there was initially an undifferentiated chaos, from which the world of phenomena developed by means of emanations constantly falling apart into their constituent parts. As it is frequently put, in something of an oversimplification, there was originally the asexual, which divided into male and female, from which came the rest of creation. The asexual and undifferentiated are personified in the figure of Sang Hyang Tunggal, who as the Inconceivable or Sang Hyang Achintia also belongs to the realm of the unmanifested. 792 769 779

Man is a part of creation, and as such is bound to the manifested world in his way of thinking. It is impossible for him to form any notion of the essence and the quality of things belonging to the unmanifested. The undifferentiated, which is in reality inconceivable, appears to him primarily as a manifestation called Siwa. This manifestation forms the centre of the universe, from which are emanated the eight guardians of the directions (*astalokapala*), each of whom has control over one specific section of creation. These eight gods, together with Siwa as the central point from which they emanate, look after the balance in the cosmic order. Such a system of nine gods is known as the *nawa-sanga*. Sometimes it is expanded to eleven, with Paramasiwa at the zenith and Sadasiwa at the nadir. A reminiscence of the belief that the ten gods arranged around the centre are considered as emanations of Siwa is the fact that the eleven-god system is sometimes referred to as the eleven Rudras (Rudra is a manifestation of Siwa).

The *nawa-sanga* plays an important rôle in religious life on Bali. The guardians of the directions are symbolic of the cosmos, the ordered universe. The Balinese view of the universe is dominated by the notion of the relation between the macrocosmos and the microcosmos: the cosmic pattern is repeated in all creation. Hence the *nawa-sanga* is frequently used as a symbol to indicate 772 779

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772 779 [341] that action has been taken in keeping with the cosmic laws. This may be clarified by a few examples. As is known, the architecture of some temple buildings and gates should be viewed as a replica of the ordered structure of the universe. In order to give further expression to this fact, and at the same time to create a metaphysical balance in harmony with the cosmic order maintained by the eight guardians of the directions, the *nawa-sanga* is depicted on both the cornice and the base of temple buildings and gates.

771 822 In earlier centuries it was also a frequently recurring custom that in important consultations a likeness of the *nawa-sanga* had to be present to maintain the harmonious sphere needed for a favourable result to the discussions.[2] One of the most usual ways of depicting the *nawa-sanga* is to make use of the colours of the gods of the four cardinal directions. These gods, Wisnu in the north, Iswara in the east, Brahma in the south, and Mahadewa in the west, have black, white, red, and yellow as their respective colours. As late as the 'thirties of this century it was the custom in Jĕmbrana to place a cone-shaped floral piece divided into four segments coloured blue (or black), white, red, and yellow on the table during the periodical meetings of the authorities. This floral cone, too, represented the *nawa-sanga*, and even today four-coloured flower offerings are present during meetings on the village level.

Goslings, in his article "Een Nawa-sanga van Lombok",[3] describes the various other ways in which the *nawa-sanga* can be depicted. Besides by their colours, the various gods can also be represented by their mounts and their weapons and by the sacred syllable associated with each of them.

Goslings also calls attention to the vestiges of an older sun-worship cult which have found expression in the system of the *nawa-sanga*. As was just mentioned, the colours of the gods of the four cardinal directions are black, white, red, and yellow. The colour of Siwa in the centre is either also white or varicoloured, thus in the latter case composed of the colours of the other gods. Goslings, following Liefrinck, points out that the white colour of Iswara in the east is that of daylight, while the other colours, red,

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yellow, and blue (or black), are the chief components of the sun's spectrum. The black colour in the north is considered as having taken the place of blue.

There is in this connection also another trace of earlier sun worship. Moving from east to west in the system of the eleven Rudras one encounters the manifestations of Siwa most closely linked to him: Iswara in the east, Siwa, Paramasiwa, and Sadasiwa in the centre, at the zenith, and at the nadir, and Mahadewa in the west. Hence the whole course which the sun seems to make around the earth falls under the dominion of Siwa.

A study of this element of the sun cult and the identification of Siwa with Surya on Bali would be rewarding. Here, however, I shall confine myself to pointing out the important rôle in the temple system played by the orientation to the east: in this connection reference may be made to the terraced pyramids of Sĕlulung, likewise facing east, and the high, common base for the altars in many temples, especially in northern Bali and on Nusa Pĕnida.

Moreover, the antithesis of *akasa* and *pĕrtiwi*, heaven and earth, with the sun as the symbol of the firmament, serves as the basis for Balinese popular religion. Both the *sanggar agung* and the lotus-seat may be dedicated either to Siwa or Surya, according to local custom. Among the motifs in the long offering carpets the sun recurs as an emblem quite as frequently as the *nini* and the *gunungan*. In the priestly religion the *suryasewana* plays an important rôle, as does also the parallel ritual *mĕsĕgĕh* which the Balinese housewife is expected to perform each day at dawn, high noon, and sunset.

It is also important to recall that in some parts of the *Bali-aga* area sun-worship has been integrated in the ancestor cult, so that in the *sanggah kĕmulan* Surya forms a trinity together with the male and female ancestors. It is moreover characteristic that the ruler is often said to be 'like the sun that illumes the earth'.

Goslings mentions a passage from the *Usana Bali* in which it is stated that a monk from Majapahit who had gained the favour of the gods by asceticism was the founder of the oldest of the six

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538 leading temples (*sadkayangan*) of Bali, the sanctuary of Bĕsakih at the
771 southern foot of Gunung Agung. The legend goes on to relate that Siwa, in his manifestation as Batara Guru, descended for a visit to the temple, followed by 'the gods of all the directions'. The 'gods of all the directions' is a reference to the eight guardians, and the specific link with Batara Guru suggests a certain relationship with ancestor worship. The tie between Majapahit and the largest state sanctuary on Bali, the symbol of the unity of the land, is also significant.

771 Seen against this background the *nawa-sanga* acquires more
643 meaning as a royal emblem or attribute. Phenomenologically the ruler is viewed as the receptacle of divine power on earth: he is not only the representative of the deity but an incarnation, especially of Wisnu, while with respect to the realm over which he is placed he is the maintainer of the cosmic order, and as such the *lingga* of the world. As the *lingga* of the world he appears in the aspect of Siwa on earth, and just as Siwa is the centre from which the eight guardians of the directions emanate, in the same way the ruler is the centre from which the secular power in its various aspects of rule and administration emanates.

181 It is within the framework of this pattern of thought that one
643 must consider the fact that in 1947 the federal state of East Indonesia adopted the *nawa-sanga* as the emblem for its presidential flag, while on Bali the black-white-and-red, symbolic of the trinity, is used for the flags on the automobiles of the autonomous princes. In the context in which they are used, both symbols express the same thing: the authority which maintains order and makes itself felt from the centre to the periphery. In this context the trinity is considered as an abbreviated form of the *nawa-sanga* representing in it the line from north (Wisnu) over east (Iswara) to south (Brahma).

792 After this long digression let us return to the *chandis* in Pura
769 Taman Ayun. We have already seen that there is a connection
643 between the *chandi* (sometimes also called *prasada* or *lingga*) and the royal ancestor cult given expression in the *paibon*. After the

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comments above on the phenomenological significance of the ruler as the representative of cosmic power on earth, the *lingga* of the world, it is not difficult to recognize in the *chandi* the symbol of this royal attribute.

It is tempting to draw the early Javanese *chandis* and the cult of the early Javanese rulers, who were absorbed into some specific deity after their death, into the discussion. But this would lead too far afield, and it must suffice to comment that though there is agreement in essentials, there is also an important difference between the early Javanese *chandi* and the modern Balinese structure, in that the latter never serves as a final resting place for the cremated remains of a deceased person.

Aside from those in Pura Taman Ayun there are also *chandis* in Pura Prasada at Kapal and in several clan temples. It is noteworthy that *chandis* have only been found in clan temples of *ksatriyas*, and only in cases where a descent from Majapahit is claimed. In popular parlance *chandis* are comparable to *merus* of brick such as are to be found in Taman Bali, Manggis, Babi, and a number of other *desas* in Karangasĕm. A small model roughly a yard high, carved out of a single piece of stone and with a profiling that seemed much more eastern Javanese than Balinese, was found in the *pura desa* of Tista in Karangasĕm in 1938. The largest and best known *chandi* is located in the *pĕmĕrajan* of the former ruling house of Kĕsiman. We shall return below to the *chandi* in Pura Prasada.

The *chandis* in Pura Taman Ayun are not the only structures in the temple representing Siwa, and through him the eight guardians of the directions or the *nawa-sanga*. Both in the central square and in the inner court the latter are depicted in detail. At a short distance beyond the gate to the inner court there is a large pavilion of the gods on the base of which the eight guardians of the directions are depicted, and in the central square the *nawa-sanga* is represented by an ornamental column set in the middle of a low-lying pond.

The *chandis* in the inner court, the pavilion of the gods, and the monument in the pond are in a sense related to one another. The

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342 *chandis* can be considered as the true seats or contact places of the
792 deity. The pavilion of the gods has the function of a divine pres-
769 ence chamber where the eight guardians receive homage after they have descended. And the monument in the pond is a nether-worldly complement: besides the protectors of the cosmos there are also demonic powers who extend their might over the universe.

792 A few further comments and a brief summary of the data regarding the essential characteristics of Pura Taman Ayun are in order before we take leave of this state temple. The *pura* derives its name from the fact that most of its west and south sides are surrounded by a sort of lake formed by a dam in the river. Thus though the sanctuary itself is on higher terrain, it gives an impression of lying in the middle of a pond. Moreover there is the smaller pond in the central square. As its name suggests, a pond is one of the characteristic attributes of a *pura taman*. Other examples of such temples are Pura Ped and Pura Batu Mĕdau, on Nusa Pĕnida, and Pura Luhur, near Wongaya Gĕde. Also characteristic for the *pura taman* is the fact that the ruler takes part in its cult. The pond is looked upon as a place of contact with the upper-worldly forces *via* the *widadaris* or celestial nymphs who use it as a bathing place.

Informants stated that there was a certain relation between Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Ulu Batu on Bukit: the anniversaries of both temples fall on Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion) in the week of Mĕdangsia. In the same way the anniversaries of Pura Prasada at Kapal and Pura Sĕkenan on the island of Sarangan are related, falling on two successive days, Kuningan Day (Saturday-Klion in Kuningan) and Manis Kuningan (Sunday-Umanis in Langkir).

In summary, the fact that the centrally located Pura Taman Ayun is a *pura taman* shows clearly that it must have been closely connected with the ruling house, and the presence of a *paibon* marks it as a *pĕmĕrajan*. The dynastic ancestor cult is related to the system of the eight guardians of the cosmic order by means of the *linggas* and the pavilion of the gods, to Ibu Pĕrtiwi by means of

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the *paibon*, and to the demonic powers of the four directions by means of the monument in the pond in the inner court. The pond also accentuates the character of the temple as a place where contact with the suprasensory world can be achieved through the intermediary of the *widadaris*. The altars indicate a relationship with the other state sanctuaries of Mĕngwi (the mountain temples of Bon and Tiingan and the sanctuary of origin at Kapal), while there are also links with the sea temples of Ulu Batu and Sĕkenan.

Still to be considered is Pura Prasada at Kapal. The *desa* of Kapal is a short distance to the southeast of the district seat of Mĕngwi, the former capital of the realm.

There are a number of antiquities within the territory of the village. Among these are several statues arranged beside the bathing place in the ravine near the river. This bathing place is well known because there is a pond in its temple where large tame eels are kept (as is also the case in Pura Lingsar in western Lombok); there is also a big stone fish-elephant, but it is of recent date. Stutterheim has described various Buddhist antiquities discovered in the vicinity.[4] A further object of interest is a second small bathing place in the immediate neighbourhood of the residential part of the village which is called Kajuan Kundi after a large hewn-stone water container (*kĕndi*) with an excellently ornamented waterspout. In the background Rama is depicted sitting on a bench patterned after a *sanggar agung*. In the foreground the epic hero is portrayed once more, this time in company with Hanuman and Gĕntayu (Jatayu). Underneath this depiction is the surface from which the spout protrudes. The sculpture there portrays Rahwana with his cudgel in his right hand and with his left arm embracing Sita, seated on the mount Wilmana, whose beak serves as the spout proper.

The chief antiquities of the village, however, are to be found in Pura Prasada, and consist of a number of fragments of sculpture and a split gate ornamented with a large monster's head which was restored by the Archeological Survey in the latter half of 1949. Until recently there was nothing but a crumbled base and

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361 a few fragments left of the former *prasada*, the tower-shaped brick
172 structure from which the sanctuary took its name. The structure was completely destroyed during the great earthquake of 1917. Now a new *prasada* has been built by the people of the *desa* at the place where the former one stood. The way in which it was constructed deserves brief mention. Data for the notes which follow have been borrowed from an article by Dronkers, supplemented by information acquired on the spot.[1]

792 The direct stimulus to the restoration was the fact that the *barong*
789 stored in one of the temple buildings in the southeast corner of the inner court caught fire as a result of carelessness. A number of larger *puras* have a *barong* which is kept in a separate building on the temple grounds. Examples are Pura Pĕnataran Sasih at Pejeng, which is known for its extraordinarily large kettle drum, and Pura Tambangan Badung near Den Pasar. An important rôle as regards the *barong* is played by Pura Pĕngĕrebongan at Kĕsiman, where once every Balinese-Javanese year of two hundred ten days, on Sunday-Pon in the week of Mĕdangsia, the *barongs* from the country around are assembled in large numbers to be consecrated anew. It has not been sufficiently studied whether the *barong* may belong to one temple in particular, for example in view of the cycle of legends associated with it. In any case it can be said that the *barong* (and the *barong* play) are attributed great power in banishing evil influences.

The burning of the *barong* at Kapal provided the direct stimulus to restoring the *prasada*. Within the framework of Balinese thought this reason is a quite acceptable one. In many cases the restoration of a temple is only begun if a command has been received from the deity. Such a divine pronouncement is made known by means of a medium. Especially in times of disease, pestilence, and disaster people are on the lookout to be informed of their possible shortcomings vis-à-vis the world of the gods by means of such divine pronouncements.

792 The restoration of Pura Prasada required a great deal of sacrifice
185 in money and labour: Dronkers mentions the sum of a hundred fifty thousand guilders. The spectacular plan of restoration has

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aroused interest throughout the whole territory of the former realm of Měngwi. Gifts are listed in public, on a blackboard: they consist not only of contributions in cash, but also of gifts in kind such as rice, bricks, cement, and even the use of a truck for a set period.

But for all this it was the four thousand inhabitants of the village of Kapal who had to bear the lion's share of the expense and effort, and it is justified to attempt, with Dronkers, to explain this initiative that has suddenly developed, after a thirty-two-year period of neglect, against the background of the contemporary situation. It is, moreover, not only in Kapal that the urge to temple restoration is manifesting itself. Throughout the island there is undeniable activity in this field. A great deal is also being done in touching up private dwellings, walls, and gates. And it is reported that the organizational forms within the Balinese system such as the *desa*, the *banjar*, and the *subak* are enjoying increased interest. Indeed, in the *pĕrbĕkĕlan* of Kintamani it was learnt that discipline in connection with the various forms of community services, which had slackened somewhat as a result of the events of recent years, was now tightening up again by mutual consent.

It is, moreover, certain that the young, progressive forces are concentrating on the forms of organization familiar to Balinese society, and primarily the *banjar* and the *subak*, with the intention of giving them a place in national reconstruction and the growing national consciousness, and of finding ways of modernization. The important and expensive irrigation project Yeh Archa in Karangasĕm, in which the *subaks* concerned have played an active rôle alongside of the agencies on the *daerah* (Bali) and *nĕgara* (East Indonesia) level, must be mentioned in this connection. There was talk of the Archa plan as early as 1935, but execution was constantly frustrated by the fact that the *subaks* were never sufficiently prepared to contribute their share, while at the present time those same *subaks* are urging a tempo faster than is justifiable technologically and organizationally. This activity can only be considered as a reaction to the events of recent years: the pressure of Japanese occupation and the period of turmoil and terror which

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712 185 came to an end only in June, 1948, with the end of organized armed resistance against the Dutch on Bali.

346 The construction of the new *prasada* is also a significant fact as an architectural achievement. The work of building this eighteen-yards-high brick tower was accomplished within a period of five months. The master builder was I Made Nama, a young man of around thirty, a carpenter by profession, who had never worked with brick before. He was appointed to direct the building because he one day produced a six-feet-long draft design for the new *prasada*. According to his own statement he decided to make the design because of the fact that the desirability of restoring the *prasada* was constantly under discussion. He had formed his notions regarding the shape of the structure from statements of people who had known the original *prasada* in the period before the earthquake of 1917; the draft was revised five times before it proved to correspond to the memories of his elderly advisers.

The group of full-time workers with whom I Made Nama carried out the restoration, the *sĭka undagi* (the gild of carpenters, stonecutters, and builders), consisted entirely of people from the village itself. Only for the ornamentation and the detached statues was a specialist from elsewhere taken on to direct the work. The wages paid were significantly less than those obtaining on the open market, and hence had rather the character of a token compensation than of real wages.

Before an attempt is made to define further the position of Pura Prasada in the system of Mĕngwi state temples, some more information on the lay-out of the sanctuary is perhaps in order. For this a summary of the altars in the inner court may suffice. The temple consists of an inner court, a central court, and a forecourt. Access to the central court from outside is provided by a large split gate, whose cornice is divided into what are probably seven stories. As a result the gate has the appearance of a *meru* split in two halves. Just below the cornice there is an excellently accomplished monster's head, also divided over the two halves of the gate. A flight of twelve steps – unusually high for Bali – leads to the opening in the gate, which is some six feet above ground level.

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It has already been mentioned that at the same time the temple was rebuilt by the community, the split gate was restored by the Archeological Survey because of its historical significance. 346

The entrance to the inner court is provided by a gate of the closed type. The temple proper is oriented to the east. On inquiry I was informed that the reason for this was that the royal dynasty of Mĕngwi sprang from the dynasty of Klungkung. It is asserted that the son of Dalĕm Kĕtut of Klungkung was the first ruler of Kapal; the house of Mĕngwi, in turn, is descended from that of Kapal. In itself an eastern orientation for a temple such as Pura Prasada is hardly remarkable. The specific orientation towards Klungkung is confirmed by a specific circumstance, however.

In the eastern row of chapels there is a tripartite brick altar which, though standing on a single base, consists of three separate stone seats, with the middle one larger in size than the two others. The whole altar resembles a tripartite *sanggar agung* dedicated to the trinity Brahma–Wisnu–Iswara, Siwa–Sadasiwa–Paramasiwa, or an equivalent combination. This altar is said to be a *sungsungan pĕmaksan*, that is to say a chapel venerated and maintained by a special worship association (*pĕmaksan*). In fact, however, it is considered to be the altar for the worship of the ancestors of the royal family of Kapal, thus the descendants of Dalĕm Kĕtut. Maintenance of the altar and the performance of devotions are supposedly charged to a *pĕmaksan* – it was thought that of Pasĕk Gelgel. (Pasĕk Gelgel is the designation for an important and extensive genealogical group which, though scattered throughout Bali, forms the worship association of Pura Dalĕm Gelgel and has links with the dynasty of Samprangan–Gelgel–Klungkung.)

The following god seats and *bales* are also to be found in the inner court: in the northern row, from west to east, (1) the *bale pĕsamyangan*, a spacious two-story pavilion designed to receive divine guests from elsewhere at temple festivals and to display the various attributes of the gods and the temple such as palanquins, ceremonial lances, and parasols, (2) the altar of Sĕkenan, (3) that of Manik Galih, and (4) that of Gunung Agung and Batur (two

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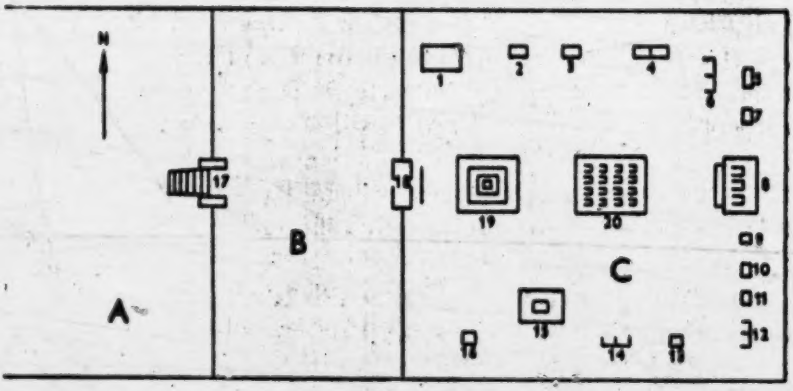

PLAN OF PURA PRASADA

A Forecourt
B Central court
C Inner court
1 *Bale pisamyangan*
2 Altar of Sĕkenan
3 Altar of Manik Galih
4 Altar of Gunung Agung and Batur
5 Altar of Gusti Ngurah Chĕluk
6 *Pĕmdrajan*
7 Altar of Ratu Made Putrajaya
8 *Sungsungan pĕmaksan*
9 Altar of Batu Kau
10 Altar of Ratu Panji Sakti
11 *Barong* building
12 *Ratu ngĕruwah*
13 *Ratu sĕdahan*
14 *Mĕkĕl mĕsatya*
15 *Taman*
16 Altar of Tarate Bang
17 Closed gate
18 Split gate
19 *Prasada*
20 Stone seats for the *satyas*

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altars on one base); in the eastern row, from north to south, (5) 346
the altar of Gusti Ngurah Chĕluk, (6) the *pĕmĕrajan* (the royal family temple), (7) the altar of Ratu Made Putrajaya, (8) the *sungsungan pĕmaksan*, (9) the altar of Batu Kau, (10) that of Ratu Panji Sakti, (11) the *barong* building, and (12) the *ratu ngĕrurah* (two stone seats, a male and a female one, on a single base). There are also a number of altars spread around the southern part of the inner court, all of them oriented to the east. From east to west they are (13) the *ratu sĕdahan*, (14) the *mĕkĕl mĕsatya* (two seats), (15) the *taman* ('the garden with a pond'), and (16) the altar of Tarate Bang.

Looking over the row of divine names, one is struck first of all by the presence of altars for the mountain and sea temples which were also found at Tiingan and in Pura Taman Ayun. There are separate altars for Gunung Agung (4), Batur (4), Luhur or Batu Kau (9), and Sĕkenan (2), while the deity of Pura Ulun Siwi is worshipped from the *prasada* itself, and the mountain sanctuaries of Bon and Tiingan are worshipped from the pavilion of the gods (1).

Ratu Panji Sakti (10) is the prince of the Klungkung dynasty who, as ruler of Buleleng, subjugated many territories. Altars for Panji Sakti, the conqueror, are often to be found in temples, especially in Buleleng, Tabanan, upper Badung (Měngwi), and Bangli.[6] Further study needs to be made whether there is any relation between Panji Sakti, Ratu Made Putrajaya (7), and Ratu Sakti Jayenrat, the deity of Pura Ulun Siwi (who is worshipped in the *prasada*).

Regarding the altar for Gusti Ngurah Chĕluk (5) it should be mentioned that Chĕluk is a small village to the west of the town of Gianyar known for its silverwork. The title Gusti Ngurah Chĕluk might be translated as 'the lord ruling over Chĕluk'. It is noteworthy that there is a *pĕmĕrajan* (6) in the form of a tripartite stone *sanggar agung* in front of this chapel. Hence it may be that the ancestors of the *gusti* family of Chĕluk are worshipped in this temple.

In the southern, 'lowest' part of the inner temple there are a 346
number of altars dedicated to intercessors (11–15). Reference has 792
already been made to the *barong* (11), who as lord over the demons

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of the forest and the graveyard serves as an intermediary in combating diseases and pestilences and in black magic. The *ratu ngĕrurah* (12) and *ratu sĕdahan* (13) recur in many temples and with a great variety of designations. They are the demonic guardians of the temple grounds; vows are preferably made to these demigods. The 'pond' in Pura Prasada (15) is only symbolic, consisting of nothing more than a base on which are a large number of fragments of old statues. It has been pointed out above that the pond is the place where the *widadaris*, the celestial nymphs who maintain contact between the world of the gods and the sublunary world, disport themselves. Especially during epidemics and disasters it is the *widadaris* who inform the mortals how the upper-worldly forces which have brought misfortune upon mankind can be appeased. Then *sangyang* dances are performed with maidens clad as *widadaris* falling in trance and functioning as mediums. The remarkable fact should perhaps be mentioned that in the period after the political turmoil had been subdued in southern Badung *sangyangs* were performed night after night for months in many *banjars* of Den Pasar and a number of villages outside the town in order to 'keep the land calm'. Informants at Kapal stated that the 'pond' is also the place where dancers and *gamĕlan* players ask for blessing in connection with their profession.

Regarding the *mĕkĕl mĕsatya* (14) it can only be stated that the term is used to designate concubines of a ruler who follow their consort in death. An altar for Tarate Bang (16) is also found in Pura Puchak Tiingan and in Pura Taman Ayun; the reference is to the goddess in the temple beside Lake Bratan near Chandi Kuning. The location in the southwest corner indicates a netherworldly tendency.

A few comments with regard to the most important altar in the temple, the *prasada* itself, are now in order. The structure, facing the east, is in front of the *sungsungan pĕmaksan* (8), hence in a position similar to that of one of the *chandis* in Pura Taman Ayun in relation to the *paibon* there.

The deity for whom the *prasada* serves as a seat is Ratu Sakti Jayenrat, to whom the large *meru* in Pura Ulun Siwi is also dedi-

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cated. I am unable to identify this *ratu sakti* further at this time; the title means 'the powerful world-conqueror' and recalls that of Ratu Panji Sakti (10), who was also a great conqueror. Even so, considering the relation with Pura Ulun Siwi, located near the seashore on the isthmus separating the two bays where overseas communications were concentrated in earlier times, it is possible that further investigation may reveal some connection with the descent of the dynasty, *via* Klungkung, from Java.

As has been mentioned, a *prasada* is equivalent to a *chandi* or *lingga*, both in its intrinsic significance and its general form. We have seen that the *chandi* is related to the ancestor cult of ruling families and gives expression to the veneration of deified ancestors in the aspect of the eight guardians of the cosmos. The link with ancestor worship is present in Kapal in the *pĕmĕrajan;* but the association with the *nawa-sanga* is demonstrated in the statues adorning the body of the *prasada*, which represent the eight guardians of the directions ranged around Siwa in the centre.

This has been done in the following fashion: around the body of the temple two series of detached statues have been placed on two different levels. The upper series depicts the eight guardians oriented to the eight directions in the traditional way: Wisnu (north), Sambu (northeast), Iswara (east), Maheswara (southeast), Brahma (south), Rudra (southwest), Mahadewa (west), and Sangkara (northwest).

The difficulty in depicting Siwa as the centre and the source of the eight emanations has been solved by giving the deity a seat in the cornice on the west side, above the statue of Mahadewa. Since the temple is oriented towards the east devotions are paid facing that direction. Hence the west side of the *prasada* is the front, and there a shallow niche is provided where the deity descends to his temporary residence on earth during holy days and where the object within which the god embodies himself (for example a sandalwood effigy) can be placed.

It is worthy of note that the essence of the *nawa-sanga*, represented by the trinity, has been given expression on the east side. Above the statue of Iswara placed there as the lord over the east are

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346 792 representations of Brahma on his mount, a goose, and Wisnu on the Garuda. Reference has already been made to the trinity Brahma–Wisnu–Iswara as an abbreviated form of the *nawa-sanga*. On a slightly lower level are placed the seven celestial seers, the *saptarĕsi*, the most prominent of whom are Wĕrhaspati and Narada. The seven statues, also detached, are arranged according to the directions, beginning with the northwest and running *via* the north to the southwest. The priestly row is interrupted in the west, where the niche is located.

The placing of the statues of the *nawa-sanga* and the *saptarĕsi*, and their sculpturing with the proper hand positions and attributes, took place under the auspices of Pĕdanda Gĕde Anom Manuaba, a member of the Countr of Kĕrta at Tabanan.

Although Pura Prasada at the moment has the *desa* of Kapal as its worship association, which is to say that it is cared for by the *desa* community, it cannot be considered as one of the village sanctuaries in the strict sense. As is known, the normal system of village temples consists of the *pura puseh*, the *pura bale agung*, and the *pura dalĕm*. The possession of these three sanctuaries is the mark of a consolidated *desa* community, or, to put it differently, the *desa* community is formed by the worship group of the three temples. Aside from these three obligatory temples the vast majority of village communities also have other sanctuaries which they venerate for the most diverse reasons.

792 771 The *pura puseh* has to do with the worship of ancestors in their aspect of deified first settlers and lords over the soil, while in the *pura bale agung* the rites are particularly for the founders of the social order, and the *pura dalĕm* is closely linked with the graveyard. Rites in the *pura puseh* are essentially a part of the worship of the celestial gods; those in the *pura dalĕm* of the exorcism of nether-worldly forces. In the *pura bale agung* both sorts of veneration are to be found in a functional relationship: the inner court is more especially devoted to the worship of gods of the upper world, and the nether-worldly cult is located primarily in the forecourt.

The question arises to what extent a parallel can be drawn between the three-temple system essential to the *desa* organization

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and the system of state temples. The material for an answer to this question is not yet available, but there are certain pointers. In both the village temple system and that of the state temples there is an antithesis between sanctuaries for the veneration of the gods of the upper world and those of the nether world. Clear examples are the temple complexes of Luhur, Pětali, Tambawaras, and Bĕsikalung in Tabanan, all of which manifest the basic pattern of the three-temple system within their complexes: each has within its walls a *pura puseh*, a *pura pĕnataran*, and a *pura dalĕm*. To what extent this system is to be detected in the state temples of Měngwi in the position occupied by Pura Taman Ayun as against the mountain sanctuaries of Bon and Tiingan on the one hand and the sea temples of Ulu Batu and Sĕkenan on the other needs further investigation.

In closing a summary may be given of what can be deduced from the evidence at this point. The oldest dynastic sanctuary of the former realm of Měngwi is Pura Prasada at Kapal. Other state temples are Pura Taman Ayun and the mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon. It is not impossible that other, less important temples may also belong to the system, while the *puras* of Sĕkenan, Ulun Siwi, and Ulu Batu, located near the seashore, also play a rôle in connection with it.

All the state temples mentioned are characterized by a certain link with the veneration of the dynastic ancestors, who in their deified aspect are conceived of as having been absorbed into the *nawa-sanga*. In each of the state sanctuaries there are chapels for the three chief mountains of Bali (Gunung Agung, Batur, and Batu Kau), the other state temples of the realm, and the *puras* of Ulun Siwi, Sĕkenan, and Ulu Batu: locally these temples are all grouped together under the designation of *sadkayangan*.

In the distribution of those temples through the former realm, the highland area, the centre, and the coast form the cardinal points. It is clear from the association of the royal ancestor cult with the *nawa-sanga* that the significance of the dynasty for the realm is conceived in cosmic terms: in the same way that the

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792 771 659 [643 769] *nawa-sanga* is charged with the maintenance of the cosmic order, the royal house is the fountain from which flows the well-being of the realm. In this connection the veneration of the mountain sanctuaries is of significance, since the mountain serves as a place of contact with the world of the gods and as a cosmic symbol, while there is also a link between such temples and the beneficent irrigation water.

In the broader sense the worship group for state sanctuaries consists of all the inhabitants of the realm. However, in earlier times the ruler usually charged certain village communities with the maintenance of the temples, granting exemption from taxes and services as a compensation. An example of the way in which the obligation of temple maintenance was organized is to be found in the mountain sanctuaries of Tiingan and Bon, which are primarily cared for by the core villagers of four *pĕrbĕkĕlans;* taken together these core villagers are called the *pĕmaksan*, the worship group in the strict sense. The system of charging certain communities or groups of persons with the maintenance of sanctuaries finds a parallel in early Java in the way in which exemptions were granted to *dharmas* and *manggalas*, and later in the system of *pĕrdikan desas*.

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PĔMAYUN TEMPLE OF THE BANJAR OF TĔGAL

by

C. J. GRADER

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C. J. Grader's monograph "De poera Pamajoen van Bandjar Tegal" (Pura Pĕmayun of the *Banjar* of Tĕgal) was published in *Djdwd* (Java), XIX (1939), 330–367. In the present version a long passage on pages 334–338 of the original text has been briefly summarized and shorter passages on pages 343 and 348 omitted. Also to be found in the *Djdwd* publication, but not included here, is an appendix containing the Balinese-language text of the *baris dĕmang*.

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PĚMAYUN TEMPLE OF THE BANJAR OF TĚGAL

I

Introductory Remarks

The region of Buleleng presents a richly varied picture as re- /01/
gards village organization. Besides villages emphatically archaic in character, including some which approximate even in their detail to the original type of the early Balinese heartland roundabout Lake Batur, the region also contains mixed forms and newer organizations that have developed in a more recent period.

This variety is due in part to the elongated shape of the region, as a result of which it borders on practically all the different cultural areas on the island. The area from Kubutambahan eastwards, which is linked with upper Bangli ethnologically, belongs entirely to the *Bali-aga* territory. Many villages such as Tambakan and Madenan represent the Lake Batur type, the best known *desas* of which are Kědisan, Abang, Těrunyan, and Songan (known in popular parlance as the 'stars of the lake', since they lie around Lake Batur, which is equated with the moon).[1]

A separate area in central Buleleng is formed by the group of *desas* in the hill country between Sangsit, Sudaji, and Bebetin, with Sawan and Jagaraga as centres, where for centuries indigenous cultural life has undergone the fecund, uninterrupted influence of the presence of the court. Antiquities and epigraphic data found there indicate that the royal influence dates from the earliest historical times. It was in this area that one of the most important battles of the first half of the nineteenth century in the outer islands was fought: the battle of Jagaraga in 1849. It is a remarkable detail that even today cannon-balls from the battle

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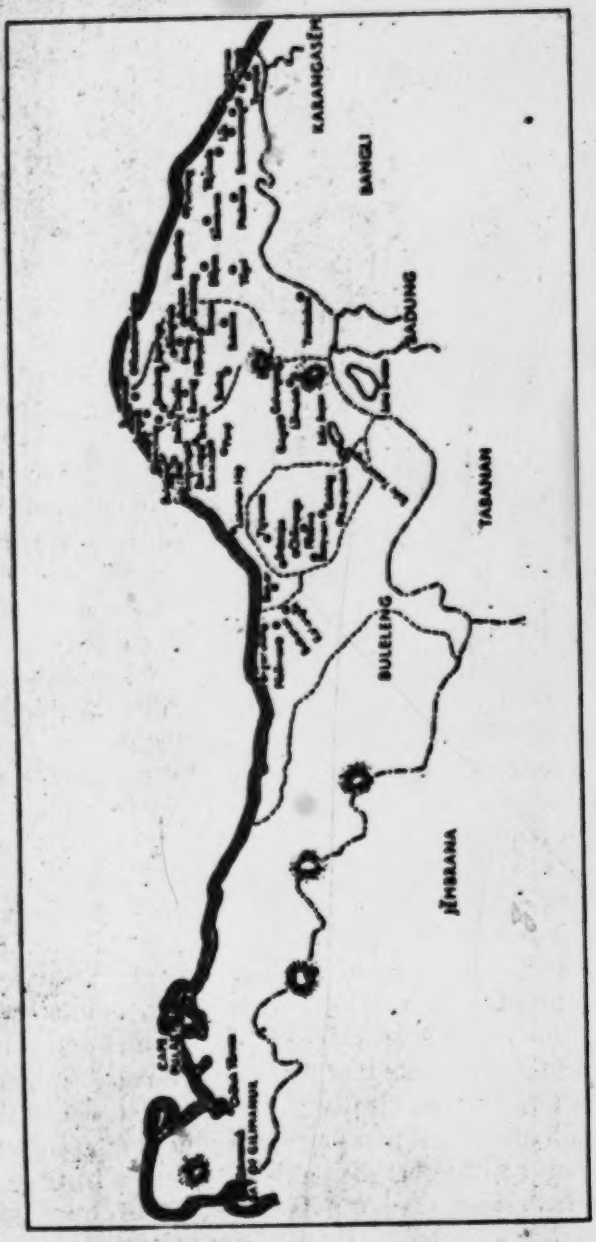

THE REGION OF BULELENG

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are used in the Jagaraga *pura dalĕm* as weights to assess levies in /10/ kind for the temple festival.

This is the area of the striking Sangsit style in architecture, which has found one of its finest expressions in Pura Beji at Sangsit. The style is marked by luxurious ornamentation, the use of polychrome decoration, and high, continuous terrace-shaped bases. There is also a marked inclination towards burlesque fantasies, which has led not only to droll portrayals of themes from indigenous life and the animal kingdom, but also to caricatures of Europeans and products of Western technology such as bicycles, cars, steamships, and aeroplanes. As a result the style falls in a category quite by itself.

Further to the west there is an area with mixed forms of social organization constituting a transition to the newer villages of the district of Pĕngastulan which have developed as a result of an influx of people from the south and east. One of the most striking villages in the colonization area is the *desa* of Pĕtĕmon, which contains a clear recollection of its mixed origin in its very name, a contraction of *pĕtĕmuan*, that is to say 'meeting', 'encounter', 'origin'.

Finally, the villages of Sidatapa, Pĕdawa, Tigawasa, and Chĕmpaga, in the district of Banjar, constitute a remarkable, archaic type of *desa*, with Kayuputih, Banyusri, and Gobleg on the periphery.

In this richly varied mosaic of types of social organization the *desa* of Buleleng, lying on the border of the Sangsit area and the mixed area, links together a large number of components which for all their wide variety constitute a unity in the cult of the three village temples.

It is an axiom in the study of the Balinese village system that in /21/ the present state of research there is a great need for monographic treatment, and this is *a fortiori* the case as regards such a varied object of study as the extensive *desa* of Buleleng. Only once it has been possible to determine the chief characteristics of the *desa*'s many sub-groupings, most of which themselves present a complicated picture, can an attempt be made to trace a clear pattern in

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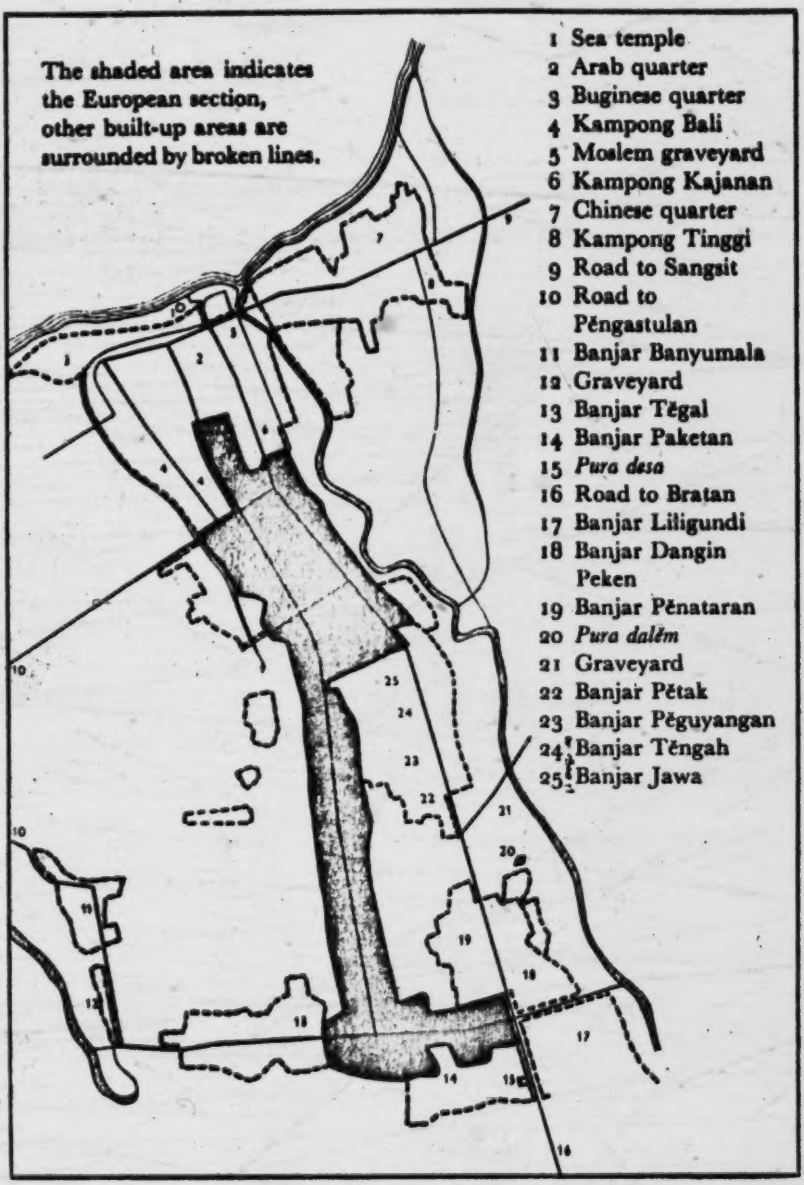

PLAN OF THE DESA OF BULELENG

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the web of their mutual relations, and, by means of comparative studies, to throw more light on any number of phenomena whose nature and origin are still obscure. 121

It is hard to say which of the various components of the *desa* system deserves priority in treatment. I have let my choice fall on Pura Pĕmayun in the *banjar* of Tĕgal, primarily because this *banjar* must be considered as one of the most important groups within the *desa* area, and also because its territory forms a relatively isolated and clearly delimited unit in the southwestern part of the town. At the same time my choice was stimulated by the presence within the temple organization of two associations charged with performing certain ceremonial dances the description of which, it is hoped, will enhance the attractiveness of this study.

2

The Worship Group

The worship group of Pura Pĕmayun is formed by the members of the *banjar* of Tĕgal, who are organized in a single neighbourhood organization. There are no data on the origin of the association, but it is not probable that a predominantly genealogical grouping lies at its basis, since it numbers persons both of the three higher castes and of the lower caste among its members. 794 575

It does not seem over-bold to assume that Pura Pĕmayun was originally a *pura panti*, though there is no knowledge of such an origin among the *banjar* members. The character of a *pura panti* is particularly clear in the region of Karangasĕm, where the term is understood to refer to a *pura pusĕh* in development, venerated by persons who have founded a new village within the territory of an existing *desa* without denying the rights of that mother village to the land.

This may be clarified by an example. In the territory of the *desa* of Sĕlat there are five daughter *desas*: Santi, Sĕbudi, Sogra, Pĕrsana, and Tĕgĕh. These five villages are distinguished from the mother village, the *desa pĕmundĕr*, by the term *desa pĕdasan*. *Pĕdasan* is understood to mean a hamlet, a new settlement. The *pĕmundĕr* 621

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621 is the boundary of the territory over which the mother *desa* has the right of disposal. The *pĕdasans* of Sĕlat are not *banjars*, since they do not belong to the same worship group as the mother village. In fact the *adat* and the temple organization of each of the *pĕdasans* display important differences from those of the mother *desa* and of the other *pĕdasans*. Consequently the *pĕdasans* are quite consciously distinguished from the *banjars* (there are seven of those in the mother village), which also play a rôle in the internal organization of the *pĕdasans* themselves.

792 It is known from recent history that in broad outline a *pĕdasan* is
621 founded in the following way. (It should, however, be taken into
769 account that the data available all refer to one and the same part of Karangasĕm.) After several households from the mother village or from elsewhere have settled within the territory of the new *desa* with the permission of the mother village, a graveyard is laid out and its accompanying *pura dalĕm* is built. Then one or more clan temples are constructed, probably with the clan temple of the most important group eventually being expanded by including gods belonging to the more general system of worship. In this way there comes into being a navel temple for the group. Since, however, the land on which the *pĕdasan* is founded belongs to the mother village, and hence is under the protection of its gods, the new navel temple is called *pura panti* (or *pura pĕmaksan* or *pura pĕnataran:* the meaning of these terms will be returned to later). In many cases there is a clan temple within the walls of the *pura panti* which is venerated by only a part of the people of the *desa pĕdasan*.

792 In the daughter villages of Sĕlat the chief deity in the *pura panti*
776 is as a rule said to be a descendant of the *ratu gĕde pusĕh* of Sĕlat,
628 the god of Sĕlat's navel temple. In this way expression is given to the dependence on the deity whose power extends over the whole territory of the mother *desa*. In the *puras panti* of the Sĕlat *pĕdasans* Batara Sri is also always venerated, a fact pointing towards an originally agrarian character of the group founding the temples.

792 The presence of the so-called *patokan* also provides an indication of the nature of the *pura panti*. A *patokan* is in general use in Ka-

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rangasěm as a place of worship in the *banjar* compound, and serves to provide a place of contact with the nether-worldly deities, for whom the *banjar* community is the worship group. The *patokan*, consequently, is referred to as the altar of the ruler of the nether world, sometimes indicated more specifically as Batara Durga.

On the basis of these data the *pura panti* can be defined as a place of worship founded by a predominantly agrarian community which has taken the care for its religious and social interests upon itself. The worship of the gods of the upper world finds expression in the presence of the altars in the inner court of the temple; the forecourt, where the *patokan* and the *bale pěmaksan* stand, has a significance approaching that of the *banjar* compound. In the same way that the *pura panti* can be considered as a *pura puseh* in development, the worship group of the *panti*, the *pěmaksan*, can be viewed as a *desa* in embryonic state.

The territory belonging to the *panti* can be looked upon as constituting that of a separate *desa* as soon as the mother *desa* no longer exercises its territorial rights. These consist of the right of giving direction in certain matters of religion and of requiring religious levies. There are, for instance, certain offering ceremonies which the *pědasan* may not perform until the mother village has given the sign. Thus the *mělělasti* (the ritual washing of the gods in the sea) takes place under the guidance of Sělat, and the purification festival held once every decade can only be organized by the mother village, though the *pědasans* are required to contribute to its expenses. The unity of the territory is also expressed in various applications of ground magic. On the birth of a pair of twins of different sexes the whole territory of the mother *desa* is magically impure. The Nyěpi ceremonial is observed at the same time and in the same way in the mother village and the *pědasans*. During certain offering festivals at Sělat the daughter villages are required to pay tribute by providing palm wine and *bantěn pěnyěněng* and performing ceremonial dances. Moreover the daughter villages contribute to temple restorations in Sělat by means of levies in kind, and the mother village has the right to make requisitions if necessary.

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575 778 As was mentioned, the *pura panti* is sometimes called *pura pĕmaksan* or *pura pĕnataran;* combinations of these terms such as *pura pĕmaksan panti* or *pura pĕnataran panti* also occur. *Pĕmaksan*, literally 'association', refers to the association of village founders, which will usually have been an association of farmers. Agrarian groups function as worship associations for special agrarian temples throughout the island. The most important of such agrarian sanctuaries are the *puras subak*, the irrigation-association temples, but there are also temples which have to do with dry-field farming: the so-called *puras pĕbiyanan* and *puras bĕnua*, to be found in Jĕmbrana and elsewhere. A well-known example of a temple for dry-field crops is Pura Maduwe Karang at Kubutambahan. Also named after the *pĕmaksan* founding the *pura panti* is the *bale pĕmaksan* in the forecourt of the temple, which can be considered as the prototype of the *bale agung* on the one hand, but also has in itself the possibility to develop into a *bale banjar*.

621 778 In the designation *pura pĕnataran* the accent falls on the consolidated complex of dwelling compounds (*natah* or *karang*) comprising the hamlet. Caring for ground magic, for the ritual purity of the residential village, is one of the first tasks of a new settlement. It is in this context that Ratu Maduwe Karang, who as one of the chief gods has an altar in the inner court of every *pura bale agung* in the Kintamani area and who is the guardian of the residential village and the planted fields, is to be considered.

To return to Pura Pĕmayun: there is reason to believe that this temple has developed from a *pura panti*. For historical and geographical reasons, when the *banjar* was formed the veneration of this sanctuary lying within its territory became a task entrusted to it alone.

621 628 794 In keeping with this hypothesis is the fact that the designation '*banjar* Tĕgal' suggests the founding of a hamlet amidst gardens and dry fields. There are, however, striking differences from the *pĕdasans* of the *desa* of Sĕlat. In Sĕlat the development was such that the *pĕdasans* today are essentially complete *desas* which only have to recognize certain rights exercised by the mother *desa*, while the worship group of Pura Pĕmayun is in essence a *banjar*

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which forms part of the worship community of the *desa* of Buleleng with regard to the three village temples. Also in the case of the *banjar* of Tĕgal, however, caring for ground magic is a matter concerning primarily the *desa* as a whole: it is the *desa* that takes the lead in the Nyĕpi ceremonial.

There is no known tradition regarding the origin of Pura Pĕmayun, nor can more than a few indications be derived from the names of the gods venerated. It is possible to establish a link with the semi-historical, semi-legendary hero and ruler of Buleleng, I Gusti Panji Sakti. The chief of the temple's attributes, a sacred creese, is said to derive from him. Furthermore it is required that on placing objects of any magical significance in the bases or cornices of temple structures after restorations a descendant of Panji Sakti must be present to perform the symbolic act. (This is, in fact, also true for other sanctuaries in the *banjar* of Tĕgal, even for household and family temples.) The main altar, oriented towards the east, is, moreover, dedicated to Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji, a fact that points towards relations with the large *desa* of Panji lying to the southwest.

The sources throw little light on the special nature of the relation between Pura Pĕmayun and Panji Sakti. Panji Sakti's creese, which serves as the palladium (*pĕjĕnĕngan*) of the temple, is kept in a special building, a sort of safe in the form of a chapel standing in the *pĕmangku*'s compound, and is brought to light to serve as a temple attribute only on the anniversary of Pura Pĕmayun. A *pĕjĕnĕngan* is an object of supernatural origin into which the deity descends and resides, and from which he rules (*jĕnĕng*). It is at the same time a sacral object providing legitimation for a temple or a person. Hence Panji Sakti's creese serves to corroborate the link with the temples in the *desa* of Panji.

Various royal families possess a *pĕjĕnĕngan* serving to demonstrate that their descent is legitimate and has been confirmed by the deity. In such cases the *pĕjĕnĕngan* comes to be a symbol of state. Prominent families also sometimes have a *pĕjĕnĕngan*. Weapons are by no means rare among the *pĕjĕnĕngans* belonging to the temples. More frequent, however, are other objects such as statues, coins,

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643 and ornaments, antiquities such as zodiac goblets and bronze
778 *kintongans*, epigraphs in bronze and other inscriptions, and in many cases stones that are remarkable in one way or another.

The following tale is told of the origin of Panji Sakti's creese. Batara Dalĕm – a general title used to designate the ruler of Klungkung – had forty retainers and wished to have a creese made for each of them. The creeses were given the names of vassals known from history. (Panji Sakti's creese, however, is called I Baru Sĕmang.) When the forty creeses were finished and Batara Dalĕm distributed them among his retainers it appeared that there was one left over. All forty were handed in again and counted, and to everyone's amazement there were no more than forty in all. Again the creeses were distributed, and again there was one too many. No matter what stratagems were applied, the riddle could not be solved. Later Batara Dalĕm gave the extra creese to Panji Sakti, who had been brought up at the court of Klungkung and was then still called I Barak, that is to say 'the Red'. With the creese he killed a certain Ngakan Gĕndis nearby the *desa* of Panji. In this way, then, there is a connection between Pura Pĕmayun and the Klungkung dynasty, the embodiment of the Javanese-Balinese heritage.

This is the oral tradition. A study of the abundant material on Panji Sakti would no doubt lead to further commentary and conclusions.[1] The place where Panji Sakti is supposed to have lived is still pointed out in the village of Panji. In many southern Balinese villages there are tales of expeditions he led,[2] while he is also supposed to have fought in Balambangan. Both the ruler of Buleleng and the *jĕro anyar* at Sukasada trace their descent from him.

3

Pĕmaksan and Pĕsaren

772 As is the case for a great many temples in Buleleng, within the
575 Pura Pĕmayun worship group there are smaller groups of persons who are inclined to take a more active part in religion than the masses. These groups comprise two closely cooperating organi-

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zations, one for men and one for women, which promote religious 792
interests and care for the temple. The men's association is called 575
pěmaksan, and the women's *pěsaren* (the term *kĕraman pura* is also used for the men's group). A person usually joins the *pěmaksan* or *pěsaren* either to fulfil an earlier vow or to maintain a family tradition.

There are also some fifteen persons from outside the *banjar* of Tĕgal who belong to the *pěmaksan* or *pěsaren* for particular reasons. They are people who have suffered a great deal from sickness or misfortune, and have learnt from an augur that it would be salu- [782]
tary for them to take part in the cult of Pura Pĕmayun. The custom of undertaking the fulfilment of some sort of religious obligation as a remedy against adversities is quite widespread on Bali. It is said of such persons that the reason for their misfortune is that while the deity of some sanctuary considers them as his subjects they fail to worship him, unconscious of their default. Travelling from one temple to another, they attempt to find out in what way they have been remiss towards which god.

The number of members of the *pěmaksan* and the *pěsaren* is, of course, not constant: at the moment of writing there are twenty people in the women's association and sixty in the men's. It repeatedly happens that when members of the *pěsaren* marry they leave the association, taking a vow that if the possibility is granted them they will later have a daughter replace them.

Both the associations have separate heads or *klihans*, each of which appoints two assistants. The *klihans* themselves are called to their function by the will of the deity; consequently the appointment of a new *klihan* takes place during the temple anniversary, through the intercession of a medium. The members of the two associations must serve in rotation, for the period from one full moon to the next, as *saya*. The *saya* acts as a sort of messenger and crier and performs a few tasks that have to be done periodically. The number of *sayas* depends on the size of the association.

Every full moon the *pěsaren* and the *pěmaksan* come together for meetings in Pura Pĕmayun. The meeting is usually held in the late forenoon. The *pěsaren* gathers in the *bale pangĕnĕm*, while the

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792 575 *pĕmaksan* considers as its domain the *bale pĕgongan*, the building where the *gamĕlan* is arrayed during offering ceremonials.

As a sign that the time of meeting has come, the *klihan* of the *pĕmaksan* has a special roll sounded on the signal block. When everyone has appeared, and the *pĕsayan* has been presented to the deity in the *bale pĕruman* and then distributed among those present, the discussions can begin. The *pĕsayan*, 'what the *sayas* must bring', consists of quids of betel folded in a special way.

The main subjects discussed at the meetings are measures in connection with offering ceremonials and temple maintenance. At the same time interest on outstanding loans made to members from *pĕmaksan* or *pĕsaren* funds is collected by the *klihan*. It should be mentioned that no regular contributions are levied by the associations, nor is there an entrance fee. The association funds consist of money collected from time to time by means of head levies for the financing of offering festivals, and are always small in amount. The *klihan* is entrusted with the care of the association's finances.

796 792 575 The activity of the *pĕsaren* and the *pĕmaksan* finds expression during the organization of temple festivals. Making and putting up decorations, arranging offerings, and caring for the lights are tasks which are performed exclusively by the two associations. The mediums needed during the religious solemnities are also recruited from among their ranks, and they appear as performers in the ritual dances. The costs of an offering ceremonial also fall to the *pĕmaksan* and the *pĕsaren* to a large extent, though the small, inexpensive offerings made regularly on certain favourable days (*rĕrainan*) are provided by the *pĕmangku*.

792 575 The temple buildings are maintained partly by the *banjar* and partly by the *pĕmaksan* and the *pĕsaren*. The walls of the inner court (except for the dividing wall between the inner court and the forecourt) are the responsibility of the *banjar*, which also cares for the altar of Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji and for the westernmost offering platform, on which in earlier times a separate *banjar* offering was placed. The *bale pĕgongan* falls to the account of the three groups together, while the dividing wall between the two courts,

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the walls around the forecourt, and all the other *bales* and altars are maintained by the *pěmaksan* and the *pěsaren*.

Aside from the responsibilities of the *banjar* mentioned, its assistance is called for only when extraordinary expenditures or sizable operations are necessary for temple repairs or offering ceremonials. The *pěmangku* and his helpers take care that the temple grounds are kept clean, swept, and weeded. When the subjects to be discussed are of importance to him, the *pěmangku* also attends the *pěmaksan* and *pěsaren* meetings at full moon.

4

The Banjar

Everyone living within the boundaries of the *banjar* is considered a *banjar* member. The boundaries enclose only the blocks of houses, and persons living in huts in the fields are free to become members of a *banjar* or not as they like and may choose which *banjar* they will join. The territory of the *banjar*, then, is restricted to the residential village. The basic unit of the *banjar* fiscal system is the married person: there are special rates for widows, widowers, and single people.

The obligations of the *banjar* members are divided into *banjar* duties and *desa* services. The *desa* services have to do with the worship association formed by the entire *desa* of Buleleng, and are requisitioned to maintain the *pura bale agung*, the *pura dalĕm*, and the sea temple. All the *banjars* in the *desa* of Buleleng take part in the worship in these three temples. Moreover the *pura bale agung* and the sea temple are venerated by the *subaks* of Tĕgal, Banyumala, Kaliuntu, Babakan, Bĕnah Kĕlod, and Kayupas-Bĕduuran, which are responsible for half of all the costs of temple maintenance and offering ceremonials.

The levies and obligations to be contributed and fulfilled for the *desa* are divided among the various *banjars* by the *klihan* of the *desa*. As regards obligations in money the *banjars* contribute according to the number of their members; as regards work projects each *banjar* is charged with a certain task. The latter system is

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575 also followed in making levies in kind, with one *banjar* providing the bricks for a structure, a second the cement, and a third the sand, for example. *Banjars* given a work task are frequently exempted from levies. There was no case within memory of a *banjar* having protested against its levy or obligation.

Each *desa* temple also has its own *pĕmaksan* and *pĕsaren*, and the *desa* has a fixed number of core villagers, three of whom live in the *banjar* of Tĕgal.

The head of the *banjar* is the *pĕnyarikan banjar*, who is also called *klihan banjar* in his function as representative of the higher authorities. In some *banjars* the head is called *klihan mancha* if he is a member of one of the three higher castes. A new *pĕnyarikan banjar* is chosen at a meeting of the *banjar* presided over by the district head.

The activities of the *pĕnyarikan banjar* have to do with the maintenance of village streets and alleys, the graveyard, and the *banjar*-association building, the *bale banjar;* he also supervises the *banjar* funds, which are obtained from the annual rental of a coconut grove and the *alang-alang* field adjacent to it. This *banjar* ground is leased annually to the highest bidder, who then obtains the coconut crop and the harvest of *alang-alang*, which is of value as roofing. In earlier times, when the *banjar* levied entrance fees, those, too, were administrated by the *pĕnyarikan;* nowadays entrance fees are no longer customary. Contributions, too, are unknown, and the only other funds to flow into the *banjar* treasury consist of interest on loans, funds left over from those obtained for various purposes by means of head levies, and revenues from fines imposed on *banjar* members for not fulfilling obligations. To be able to administrate properly, the *pĕnyarikan* keeps a list of all the members of the *banjar*.

For the internal affairs of the *banjar* the *pĕnyarikan* appoints two assistants. Serving as criers are the *sayas desa*, a function which each *banjar* member is required to fill by turns for the period between two successive *banjar* meetings. These criers are called *saya desa* not because they belong to the organization of the *desa* proper (for they function exclusively as helpers of the *pĕnyarikan banjar*)

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but in contradistinction to the criers for soccage service, tax collecting, and other aspects of the intervention of the higher authorities, who are denoted by the term *juru arah*. In the *banjar* of Tĕgal there are always four *sayas desa* and a like number of *jurus arah*. This number has to do with the fact that the territory of the *banjar* is divided into four crier's jurisdictions named according to their directions: *kaja-kauh* (southwest), *kaja-kangin* (southeast), *kĕlod-kauh* (northwest), and *kĕlod-kangin* (northeast). The *jurus arah* are appointed permanently and assist the head of the *banjar* in his function as representative of the higher authorities. 575

Each Wednesday-Wage the *banjar* meets in the *bale banjar*. Unless he has a valid excuse, every member is required to appear at the meeting, on penalty of a fine. At the meeting fines incurred and interest on outstanding debts are collected, measures having to do with the *banjar* organization or coming offering festivals are discussed, and announcements of the *klihan desa* are made known. Before the discussions begin, the *pĕsayan*, which just as in the case of the *pĕmaksan* and *pĕsaren* meetings consists of betel folded in a special way, is presented by the members to the guardian of the signal block.

No *patus* is levied in the *banjar* of Tĕgal. *Patus* is understood as the provision of contributions in kind when one of the members of the *banjar* association is going to hold a cremation or some other expensive ceremony. In such a case the members of a *patus* association are also required to make their labour available for several days, though on the other hand custom dictates that they are to be given one or more meals each day during the period. Though the *banjar* of Tĕgal does not have such a *patus* association, the *banjar* members assist one another voluntarily whenever a cremation is being prepared. Then all sorts of materials needed in large quantities for a Balinese offering ceremony, such as firewood and banana leaves, are contributed, as are also mats of plaited bamboo on which to serve foods and chopping blocks for the preparation of meat dishes. The contributions vary according to the relationships between the persons concerned. Good manners dictate that when someone has offered his help he should be

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575 given the same sort and amount of assistance in return when the opportunity presents itself.

5

The Temples in the Banjar of Tĕgal

778 Besides Pura Pĕmayun there are three other temples in the *banjar*
575 of Tĕgal: Pura Pĕnyĕti, Pura Made, and Pura Pĕnaung. Of the four, however, Pura Pĕmayun is the only one to be an object of worship for the whole *banjar*.

Pura Pĕnyĕti is an association temple. Like Pura Pĕmayun it has a *pĕmaksan* and a *pĕsaren*, but the two groups bear all the costs of worship in the temple, and the *banjar* as such is not linked to it in any way. Even so *banjar* members go voluntarily to Pura Pĕnyĕti to perform their devotions. The anniversary of the temple falls on Wednesday-Umanis in the week of Pĕrangbakat.

794 The worship associations of Pura Made and Pura Pĕnaung are
778 even more restricted. These sanctuaries, though not strictly family temples, are only venerated by a few families. There is no tradition regarding the way in which these relationships originated. The family of Jĕro Mangku Nurasih cares for Pura Made, and that of Mangku Surata for Pura Pĕnaung. In each case the members of the family are called the 'subjects of the deity'. The *odalan* or anniversary of Pura Made is celebrated on Wednesday-Klion in the week of Sinta, and that of Pura Pĕnaung on Tumpĕk Landĕp (Saturday-Klion of Landĕp). No one except relatives of the 'subjects of the deity' performs devotions in either of the temples.

The many household temples and the various family and clan temples in the *banjar* of Tĕgal may be omitted from discussion here.

6

The Temple Grounds of Pura Pĕmayun

792 The temple of Pĕmayun is located approximately in the centre of
346 the *banjar* of Tĕgal, on the side of the built-up area lying towards the mountains. This southern side is the *kaja* side of the residential

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area. The temple's main orientation is to the east, but eleven of the fifteen altars are facing *kaja*. The temple grounds consist of a forecourt and an inner court. A split gate gives access to the first part of the sanctuary, and a covered gate to the second. In the eastern part of the forecourt, inside a separate wall, there are two small buildings used as kitchens, and the *paon jambangan*, the 'fireplace where the large frying pans are used', in the northwest corner of the forecourt also serves as a kitchen. The men prepare meat dishes in the *bale pebatan*.

Noteworthy are the offering columns flanking the gate to the inner court, dedicated to Ratu Ngurah Dĕmang and Ratu Ngurah Dĕmung. The two columns are not especially different either in form or in location from the seats of gate guardians to be found everywhere. However, the designations Ratu Dĕmang and Ratu Dĕmung have never been recorded anywhere else. According to Van der Tuuk[4] the *dĕmang* and *dĕmung* are functionaries of the ruler charged with arresting criminals. If on the basis of this definition the *ratus* Dĕmang and Dĕmung can be conceived of as servants, disciples, and confidants of the deity of the temple, a comparison might for example be made with the intercessors called *jĕro nyoman* or *jĕro wayan* to be found in many temples in Tabanan and the *dewas pĕnulisan* in Pura Tĕgĕh Koripan at Sukawana and in many other upper Bangli temples, who have the task of functioning as intermediary deities between god and man.

It is strange that Ratu Dĕmang and Ratu Dĕmung are said to be husband and wife. In the discussion of the *baris dĕmang* association below it will appear that the *baris* dancers, exclusively men, are divided in two groups, the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs*. But there may be more sense to the assertion that the divine beings are husband and wife than seems plausible at first sight. Particularly on Nusa Pĕnida this sort of thing is a frequent phenomenon: there are temple gates which are called male and female, and the different genders of gates, offering columns, and *sanggarans* find expression in architectural details.

The *bale pangĕnĕm* in the inner court of Pura Pĕmayun serves for the arrangement of offerings, some of which are also presented to

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the gods from this *bale*. As was said above, the *pangĕnĕm* is also the place were the women's association meets every full moon. It is unusual for the pavilion of the gods, where the most important offerings are arranged when they are presented to all the gods together, to be located on the *kauh* side.

The altars are dominated in size and significance by the brick chapel of Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji. To judge from the name, the goddess derives from the village of Panji lying to the southwest. The four altars in the eastern row that are oriented towards the east are all dedicated to goddesses; the deities in all the other altars are male.

Very striking is the form of the lotus-seat placed under a roof on a high base. A roof over a lotus-seat is to the Balinese something of an anomaly, because of the seat's association with the upper-worldly gods, especially Surya and Siwa. In Pura Pĕmayun the lotus-seat is for Dewa Gĕde Sakti Bayu. This deity is said to be the oldest one in Pura Pĕmayun; because he resides in a lotus-seat even *pĕdandas* are willing to pay him homage.

It is not known what the relation may be between the name of Pura Pĕmayun and that of Dewa Ngurah Putu Pĕmayun; contrary to what might be expected, he does not occupy a prominent place in the temple.

In front of the altar of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar there is an egg-shaped stone about a foot long set on a square column. This stone is called a *lingga*. On the northeast side of it there is a small stone statue with an inconspicuous phallus, and beneath it on the ground a smaller cylinder-shaped stone. It is believed that the *lingga* is an attribute of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar.

The word *lingga*, borrowed from Sanskrit, is well known on Bali, without there necessarily being any Çiwaitic reminiscence to it except in the official priestly circles of the *pĕdandas*. The crude stone columns to be found particularly in temples in the highlands, and almost always serving as seats for purely Balinese gods, are also called *linggas*, though *taulan* is a more common designation. The word *pralingga*, used to designate a temporary lodging for a deity during a temple ceremony, is a combination of *lingga*

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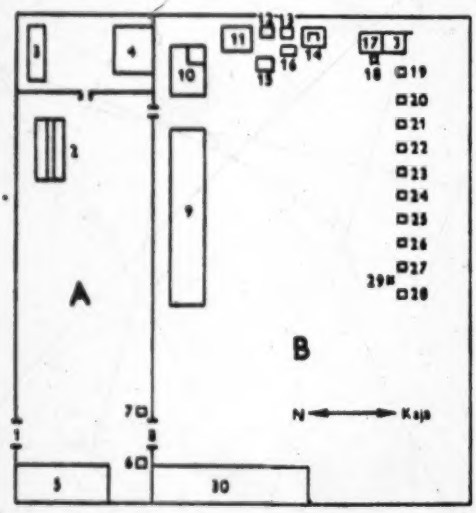

PLAN OF PĚMAYUN TEMPLE

A Forecourt
B Inner court
1 Split gate
2 *Bale pasbatan*
3 Kitchen
4 Kitchen
5 *Paon jambangan*
6 Offering column for Ratu Ngurah Dĕmung
7 Offering column for Ratu Ngurah Dĕmang
8 Covered gate
9 *Bale pangĕnĕm*
10 Pavilion of the gods
11 Chapel of Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji
12 Altar of Dewa Ayu Mas Mĕngilo
13 Altar of Dewa Ayu Mas Kumĕrinching
14 Altar of Dewa Ayu Ngurah
15 *Panggungan sikar* of the *banjar*
16 *Panggungan sikar* of the *pĕmaksan*
17 Lotus-seat of Dewa Gĕde Sakti Bayu
18 Altar of Dewa Taksu Bungkeh Karang
19 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Arak Api
20 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Made Agung
21 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Putu Pĕmayun
22 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Manikĭng Taman
23 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Puchukĭng Angin
24 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Bĕbarĕt
25 Altar of Dewa Bagus Manik Mas
26 Altar of Dewa Bagus Sĕmara Sĕkar
27 Altar of Dewa Ngurah Bagus Mas Kĕchita
28 Altar of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar
29 *Lingga*
30 *Bale pĭgongan*

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792 and the prefix *pra*, 'origin'. When a deity descends in an offering
192 or in a medium, that act is called *mĕlingga*. And in the *kidungs* the epithet *lingga ning jagat*, 'the *lingga* of the world', frequently occurs in royal titles.

7

The Temple Anniversary

796 The *odalan* or anniversary of Pura Pĕmayun falls on Wednesday-Klion in the week of Paang. In earlier times the anniversary was celebrated with like magnificence every Javanese-Balinese year of two hundred ten days. In recent times, however, the custom has developed to hold a memorial feast alternately on a large scale and in a simple way. It should be pointed out that this sort of arrangement is known throughout the island, though the periodicity varies. For example the order followed may be *nista-utama* (meagre-grand), *nista-madya-utama* (meagre-average-grand), *nista-nista-nista-utama*, or any of a number of other combinations.

796 On the occasion of the anniversary, pigs, ducks, and chickens
782 are used as offerings. Only wholly black pigs should be used. This is especially true in isolated mountain areas where the autochthonous black Balinese pig is still abundant. In the lowlands, where that variety has been completely supplanted by the hybrid Chinese-Balinese variety with a sagging back and a white belly, this type of pig can generally also be used. All the expenses for the offering ceremonial fall to the men's and women's associations, which divide the costs between them in proportion to the number of their members.

Counting the preparations, the temple festival lasts nine days. Five periods can be distinguished: the preparations, the day of the introductory ceremonial, the anniversary proper, then an interlude, and finally the closing day.

796 On Friday-Klion in the week of Pujut the women's association
575 begins making the offering biscuits (*jajan*) which serve as deco-
782 rations for the offerings. These preparations are completed on Monday-Pon of the following week, Paang.

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Then comes the first day of the ceremonial itself, Tuesday-Wage in Paang. This day is called *munggah sĕkar*, that is to say 'the placing of a flower offering (*sĕkar* or *puspa*) on the proper offering platform'. While the *pĕmangku* or a special expert is making things ready for this ceremony, the women's association has been busy since early morning preparing the other offerings. The *sĕkar* is looked upon as the specific regale of the gods.

In the early evening the *pĕmangku*, accompanied by the men's and women's associations, goes ceremonially to obtain the holy water, which is asked for in the ravine of a river nearby, the Banyumala. Once this has been done the *pĕmangku* goes home to change his raiment, after which he and the various mediums are fetched by the men's and women's associations in ceremonial fashion and are accompanied to the temple. There general homage is paid to the deity who makes his residence in the holy water.

Then the *pĕmangku* places the *sĕkar* on the appropriate altar (*panggungan sĕkar*). Next comes the arrangement of the various temple attributes in the *bale pangĕnĕm* and the preparation of the seats where the gods are expected to descend. The mediums take their place in the *pangĕnĕm* in solemn fashion. Then the men's and women's associations scatter water and palm wine in order to ward off evil. The liquids are considered as water with which the demonic guardians of the temple grounds and attributes can wash their hands and quench their thirst. With these ceremonials past, everything is in readiness for the invocation of the deity to descend. By this time it is past midnight, and the actual anniversary on Wednesday-Klion of Paang has begun.

In the morning of the anniversary day the members of the men's association are up and about slaughtering pigs and preparing various offering dishes, while the officiants are also provided with food. The women's association occupies itself with arranging the offerings. After the meat dishes have been prepared, the *pĕmangku* makes a purification offering in front of the various altars. Then in the afternoon the individual offerings are presented. All members of the *banjar* take part in this ceremonial.

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796 Soon after sundown the last of the offerings has been presented
782 and everyone goes home. Later in the evening the *pĕmangku* and
575 the mediums are again fetched in ritual fashion by the men's and women's associations, after which homage is once more paid to the deity in the holy water.

Towards midnight begins an essential part of the ritual: the *mĕndak nyawang*. The gods of the four directions are invited to descend and adorn the ceremony with their presence. The *pĕmangku*, performing the traditional reception ceremonies, wafts incense and presents meeting-offerings at each side of the temple grounds, turning successively to the east, the south, the west, and the north as he summons Iswara, Brahma, Mahadewa, and Wisnu respectively. In this perambulation the *pĕmangku* is accompanied by the mediums, each of them with a censer and meeting-offerings. The women's association, too, plays a rôle, assisting the *pĕmangku* and carrying offerings, as does also the men's association, which carries robes for the deities piled in high pyramids, as well as ceremonial parasols, lances, and other temple attributes.

The offerings are then placed in the *bale pangĕnĕm*, where the mediums also take their places. Panji Sakti's creese and the *pralinggas*, which were also carried in the perambulation, are placed on view in the *bale pĕruman*, where the gods are believed to have descended. Again libations are made, while palm wine and rice wine are served around, and the spiritual essence of the *sĭkar* offering on the altar is tendered to the deity by the *pĕmangku*. Then he presents the offerings in celebration of the anniversary, sitting in the *bale pangĕnĕm*. Next comes the part of the ceremony called *ngidĕrin buwana*, consisting of a perambulation three times around the inner court in the opposite direction to that followed during the *mĕndak nyawang*, with the procession passing in front of the various altars. Again the procession is led by the *pĕmangku*, and again the creese and the *pralinggas* are carried along. The mediums perform a row dance, and the men's and women's association take care of the temple attributes.

Then comes the *pendet pĕmaksan*. A varying number of members of the men's association, after providing themselves with a *pendet*

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offering, dance ritually to the altar for which they intend the offering. The dance is continued until the supply of offerings is exhausted.

Nor is that the end of the *pěmaksan*'s choreographic activities, for then comes the *mĕbiasa*,[5] a war dance performed by three pairs of men armed with spears. The men appear two at the time, approaching each other from the east and the west. Only after the *mĕbiasa* is ended has the time arrived for the *baris pendet* and the *baris dĕmang*.

By the time the *baris* performances are finished it is deep in the night, and the moment has come to invite the deity to take possession of one or more mediums. If this is successful there usually follow creese dances which for a while convert the peaceful bustle of the temple grounds into an orgy of wild obsession. Meanwhile the *pĕmangku* again makes offerings in the *bale pangĕnĕm*, after which offerings are also presented to the demons on the ground. The mediums go home, taking along their share of offering foods.

Thursday-Umanis and Friday-Paing are a quiet interlude, during which members of the men's and women's associations keep watch on the temple grounds.

Then on Saturday-Pon of Paang comes the *pĕnglĕbar*, or 'dispersal', the end of the festivities. In the forenoon the *pĕmangku* refreshes the flower offering, the *sĕkar*, in the *bale pĕruman*, and the gods are then assumed to be meeting together to confer on the way in which the offering has taken place. Meanwhile the women's association is again busy preparing offerings. When the sun has reached high noon a cockfight is held. In the afternoon the members of the *banjar* gather to make individual offerings, each going his own way after the ceremony.

The men's and women's associations, however, stay at their post. Then the ritual of fetching the *pĕmangku* and the mediums is repeated. The *pĕmangku* pays homage to the god in the holy water in the *bale pangĕnĕm*, and the mediums are again taken possession of by the deity. After the creese dances have been ended, offerings are once more made to gods and demons. The concluding part of the ceremony consists of placing the *sĕkar*, in which all magic

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796 impurities have gathered, in a young coconut and burying it. The place where it is buried varies: sometimes it is beneath the most important altar, sometimes just inside the gate to the inner court, then again beside the long, high base on which the altars stand.

The term *mĕndak nyawang*, used to indicate a part of the anniversary celebration, signifies something like 'approaching the gods ceremonially and calling upon them to descend'. While *mĕndak* means 'meet', 'go to meet', the term *nyawang* is used in a religious context in the sense of 'invoking a deity who resides far away'. This must be done, for example, when someone who has moved to another part of the island or is on a journey wishes to pay homage to the gods of his ancestral village or those of his household or family temple. In *nyawang* use is habitually made of an offering platform of bamboo or of an altar of temporary material built in the form of a *sanggar tawang* (a high, spacious bamboo seat surrounded on three sides by trelliswork). Such a *sanggah* is usually oriented towards the temple of the deity where the *nyawang* is to take place, so that in performing devotions before the *sanggah* one faces the direction of the deity worshipped.

The *ngidĕrin buwana*, which literally means 'making a perambulation of the world', has the significance of a procession past the host of gods of the various directions. Like the *pendet pĕmaksan* and the *baris* dances, this ritual is considered one of the 'festive embellishments' of the anniversary ceremonial. It is familiar in many places on Bali, and is performed not only at temple festivals but also on other occasions, for instance around the house of a deceased person in a part of the ritual for the dead following on cremation. The direction in which the procession moves is such that the right side of the body faces the object of homage. This is called *mĕpurwa-daksina* (east-south), moving in the direction from east to south and so on, thus clockwise. This is, indeed, the course of the *ngidĕrin buwana* when the procession moves along the outside of the altars, but when the procession passes in front of them with the deity to the right it moves in the opposite direction.

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Baris Pendet

The *baris pendet* association is a separate group whose members appear in the dress of a *baris* dancer, and with his attributes. *Baris*, of course, is a collective name for Balinese dances of a martial character.[6] The association consists of amateurs with a *pěnyarikan* as their head.

The *baris pendet*, like the *baris dĕmang*, which is to be discussed below, is one of the liturgical dances of Pura Pĕmayun, as a sign of which both *baris* associations meet in the temple every full moon in the same way as the *pĕmaksan*. The meeting is used to practise and, when necessary, to discuss the performance during the coming temple anniversary. Persons joining the association are charged the small entrance fee of ten Dutch cents: the association treasury does not have to have a large balance, since properties and musical accompaniment are the responsibility of other groups. Everything having to do with clothing falls among the tasks which the women's association has voluntarily taken upon itself, while the specific headdress of the *baris* dancers is provided by the men's association. Moreover, a part of the men's association play the *sĕmar pĕgulingan*, the orchestra accompanying the *baris pendet*, and the orchestra itself is one of the temple's possessions.

Mĕpendet or *mĕmendet* means to dance to the deity and present offerings of flowers, rice wine, spirits, incense, and water to rinse the mouth and wash the hands and feet. Clad in ceremonial dress, each of the officiants holds his offering in his right hand and dances towards the altar for which the offering is intended. In some areas, for instance in Badung, young girls under the guidance of one or more older women usually perform as *pendet* dancers, but in Pura Pĕmayun men and boys also take part. According to Van der Tuuk[7] in earlier times refreshments were presented to the guests of the ruler in this same way. It is probable that the word *pendet* is related to *pundut*, the general term for serving food. The *pendet* is one of the *mayu-ayu*, a term covering

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782 the entertainment of the deity with dance performances and
535 music, the paying of homage, and the making of offerings.[8] The *mayu-ayu* to be held during a temple festival depend for a large part on the desire of the deity who makes his wishes known by means of mediums. Often whether the performance of ceremonial dances and music is customary also depends on the nature of the temple. Particularly in the villages in the Kintamani area no *gamĕlan* music is performed during ceremonies in the *pura dalĕm*.

Frequently the mediums are the best performers of *pendet* dances. There are various designations for mediums in Buleleng: women appearing as mediums are usually called *pĕrĕmas*, while male mediums are spoken of as *pĕrmade*. These mediums serve as intermediaries through whom the deities can indicate their feelings to man. Possession also finds expression in the form of the creese dances, and moreover in the *sangyang* dances, of which many variants are known. At the moment of writing Pura Pĕmayun has four mediums, the *pĕmangku* and three women. It was stated that the number of mediums has decreased down through the years. Usually the persons who manifest the inclination to function as mediums are found in the men's and women's associations, though that is not a hard and fast rule. When someone is elected by a deity to be a medium he makes an offering to the god to whom he has thus become more closely related. It is the custom also to announce the fact to the gods of the three *desa* temples and those of Pura Pĕnyĕti, Pura Made, and Pura Pĕnaung. Besides the mediums in Pura Pĕmayun there are also those who officiate in the other temples of the *banjar* of Tĕgal and in the household and family temples.

755 In earlier times the *sangyang dĕdari* was also to be found in the
535 *banjar;* this dance was performed particularly during epidemics, when closer contact with the deity is required. All the people who are more closely associated with the religious services than the ordinary public – *pĕmangkus*, the mediums, and the members of the men's and women's associations – are grouped together as *pĕrkangge batara*, 'confidants of the deity'.

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It should also be mentioned that when the deity manifests himself several words deviating from everyday parlance are used. The *klihans* of the *banjar* and of the men's and women's associations are referred to as *pěnyarikan;* the *pěmangku* is called *juru sapuh*, 'he who sweeps the temple ground', or *juru sapa*, 'he who recites the presentation formula when offerings are made'; and the *banjar* of Těgal (which, it is said, has as its full name Těgal Mělakang, 'dry plain') is always referred to as the *banjar* of Asatan (*asat*, like *tĕgal*, means dry).

In the *banjar* of Těgal anyone who feels called to may take part in the *pendet*. The others besides the mediums to do so are frequently members of the men's and women's associations. The persons who perform the actual dance, holding an offering in their hands, are called *pěnampa*, from the root *tampa*, 'to carry in the hand'. Also necessary are persons receiving the offerings from the *pěnampas*, who are called *pěnyawi* or *pěnampi*, that is to say one who gives something the finishing touch (*chawi*) or who receives (*tempi*).

Especially well known are the *pendet* dances in the region of Karangasěm, where they are very frequent and customarily performed *en masse*. The *desas* of Asah and Bungaya are particularly renowned for their mass *pendet* dances. In Bungaya the dance is sometimes performed by hundreds of people at the time, recruited from the *desa*, the *banjars*, and the boys' and girls' associations. The dance is performed in rows of six, the boys in the lead, the girls in the centre, and the men on the sides and at the rear, filling the whole temple grounds with the colourful spectacle of their festive dress, and all of them provided with fine, carefully prepared offerings resembling bouquets of flowers, while the background is formed by a few rows carrying tall, waving plumed stalks of sugar-cane.

In Pura Pěmayun nine men participate in the *baris pendet*, four of them as *pěnampas*, four as *pěnampis*, and one as *tělikan*. The *tělikan* is considered as having the most important rôle, and when he appears the *pěnampas* and *pěnampis* are required to squat down. The word *tělik* means 'to investigate', hence the *tělikan* is a kind of

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investigator, a superintendent. Whereas the *tĭlikan* does not carry anything in his hands, the *pĕnampas* are provided with meeting offerings. The costumes for the *baris pendet* are the same as those for ordinary *baris* dancers. The dance figure itself is called *chakra lilit*, 'intertwined quoit'.

The orchestra appropriate to the *baris pendet* is the *sĕmar pĕgulingan*, though nowadays a *gong chĕnik*, a 'small orchestra' consisting of a *trompong*, a *saron*, a *jegog*, a *gangsa*, drums (*gupĕks*), a *kĕnong*, and cymbals (*chengcheng*), is also used.. Only *gĕnding sĕsulingan*, airs in which the *sulings* or flutes can be heard, are played.

9

Baris Dĕmang

The *baris dĕmang*, too, is performed by its own dance group, organized in the same way as the *baris pendet* association. Also in this case there is a *pĕnyarikan* (sometimes called *klihan*) as head. The characters in the play consist of four *baris dĕmang*, four *baris dĕmung*, a *prĕbangsa*, and a *potet*, a comic disciple of the *prĕbangsa*.

The musicians in the *baris dĕmang* orchestra are also members of the association. The orchestra consists of the following instruments: a two-stringed viol (*rĕbab*), a six-slotted flute (*suling*), a pair of drums (male and female), a *kĕnok*, a *kĕmpul*, and a *kechek*. The flutes may be replaced by a set of *gangsa saron*, one of them serving as *pĕngisep* and the other as *pĕngumbang;* the *gangsas* each have thirteen keys beginning with the note *dang* and ending with *dung*. Several persons serve as *jurus payas*, persons who help with the costuming and make-up. In contrast to the *baris pendet* association, the *dĕmang* association provides all its necessaries itself. For this reason the entry fee is fifty cents; further expenses are met by head levies.

In their book *Dance and Drama in Bali*, De Zoete and Spies give a description of the *baris dĕmang* which may be quoted here:

> This *Baris* is only performed in one ward of Singaradja, Bandjar Tegal, and at one particular temple feast. It is danced in the manner of *Gambosh*, with the same wild, old-fashioned noise and pomp of war. In fact

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it is much more warlike in feeling than most of the ceremonial *Baris*, the participants working themselves into a frenzy of exultant exhibitionism. It is only in the *Baris Gedé* at Sanoer and in an occasional *Gambosh* that one sees a similar taunting of his army by their leader in order to arouse their martial ardour ...

Baris Demang opened with the entry of eight men in red shirts, blue and white check *sapoets*, over narrow trousers of a smaller check, wearing the head-dress of *Aryas* (princes) in *Gambosh*, surmounted by a high curving horn. They advanced in two files, and with shrieks and cries formed pairs, circling round each other and brandishing their short, curved swords. They swayed, leaning upon each other, and did a battle dance, jumping in the air, pirouetting, swaying, each line in a different direction, encouraging each other with throaty shouts. All were old men. Kneeling in two files at some distance from each other, they seemed to be threatening the *gamelan* wildly with their wedge-shaped wooden swords, but were only calling on the next actor to come out. A soloist, all in checks and stripes, with painted face and white head-dress, also aureoled in palm-leaf, next put in an appearance, and leaped about acrobatically, evidently the servant of an expected grandee, for he presently prostrated himself and crawled towards the place whence the characters entered, in a frenzy of subservient delight.

The next to enter was a frantic creature, also in an *Arya* head-dress, with a painted moustache, and with flowers and green leaves hanging from his ears. He and his vizir danced and dialogued in a whirling duet, with huge smiles on their faces and demonic cries on their lips. All the *Demangs* rose, and advanced swaying towards him. They roared and swayed in martial ecstasy, exchanged swords, balanced on one foot with the other knee lifted high like a *Baris* dancer, hurled animal challenges at each other in such fierce encounter that the head-dresses went flying. Their prince went among them, calming them, and they crouched wide-kneed in obeisance. But only for a moment. They were irrepressibly excited by their raja's presence, and were soon dancing with great leaps. At last he went out; they seemed to weep, and danced out after him.[9]

These notes by De Zoete and Spies may be followed by a more detailed description of the dance. The *bale paebatan* in the forecourt serves as a dressing room for the performers. As soon as everything is in readiness the orchestra strikes up the *gĕnding* or 'air' *Lengker Kadehan* as an overture. Then follows the *gĕnding Jaran Sirig Baris*, at which the *potet*, coming from the forecourt, appears in the gate to the inner court, and enters the court acting. The character of the *potet* is that of a servant and clown, and as a sign

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535 of the latter quality his face is made completely white. His cos-
536 tume includes a white headcloth in which a frangipane flower has
792 been placed above his forehead, a twig of *don intaran* at the back
796 of his head, and two long blades of young coconut leaf beside his temples. He has on a striped shirt, plaid trousers, and a loincloth with floral motifs in gold leaf imposed on a blue base.

536 The *potet* begins his monologue, which serves the purpose of
792 acquainting the public with the tale to be depicted in the dance.
796 He praises the generosity of his lord, considering himself fortunate to serve the ruler of Pajang. He has achieved such a state of contentment that he feels full before he has eaten and clad in finery even if he has nothing to cover his body. Now, however, he is uneasy, for he has been charged to inform the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs*, the ruler's *pĕpatihs agung*, his chief councillors, that His Majesty is preparing to wage war against Mĕlayu. Nonetheless the *potet* realizes that it behoves him in his position to devote himself to the fulfilment of his duty – which is the reason why he is hastening to acquit himself of his task.

After the prologue is ended the *potet* goes back to the forecourt. Then the *gĕnding Batel* is played. *Batel* means 'fiery', 'hard', and the theme is the sign that the *baris* dance proper is beginning. From the gate to the inner court two *dĕmangs* and two *dĕmungs* appear, the former striding to the south side of the temple grounds and the latter to the north side. The *potet* informs the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs* that they are summoned to the king's presence, and they make ready to set out. They have a presentiment of what is expected of them, and display great self-confidence. With quite some braggadocio they inquire from each other how their attitude falls short. The constant repetition of certain exclamations and vocatives has a highly suggestive effect in creating a martial atmosphere:

536 DĔMUNG: Ho, brothers, you *dĕmangs!* Let us be gone!
539 DĔMANG: As you say! As you say!
792 DĔMUNG: Do not draw back! Do not draw back!
796 DĔMANG: By no means! By no means!
DĔMUNG: What is there to criticize in us? What is there lacking in us?

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DĚMANG: Your stature is too crouched, you do not stand upright enough. 536
Now you are holding yourself too stiff, and your stature is 539
exaggerated! 792
DĚMUNG: What do you have to say now? 796
DĚMANG: That is just right!

After a time the orchestra stops playing, and the two parties 536
take seats on the ground facing each other. Again the *gĕnding* 792
Batel is played, and then the other *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs* appear, 796
repeating the dance. After the dance has been performed a second time the *gĕnding Biya Kala* is sounded, announcing the *prĕbangsa*. *Biya kala* is the name of an offering which is, for example, made in order to purify a person who has returned from a journey or to greet a prominent guest. Literally the term means 'to pay the demons tribute-money'.

The coming of the *prĕbangsa* is introduced by the *potet*, who is now on his way to the ruler to inform him that he has performed his task. He goes on emitting exclamations of praise, until finally he upbraids himself that he is out of breath as a result of the violence of his prologue. Then he informs the ruler that he has brought his commands to the knowledge of the *pĕpatihs agung*, and invites him to commence his audience.

Next a dialogue develops between the ruler (portrayed by the *prĕbangsa*) and the *potet*, the latter repeating the former's obscure and quasi-archaic idiom sentence for sentence in more understandable language. The dialogue is quickly given a certain turn so that the ruler's name and title can be made known to the public. The *prĕbangsa* represents the ruler of Pajang, known from the *Malat* and other Panji tales. From a monologue of his paraphrased by the *potet* it becomes clear that he is making preparations for a speedy departure for Mĕlayu. His mood of irritation is demonstrated by his declaration that he would like to meet someone audacious enough to ridicule his clothing.

Then follows a description of the *prĕbangsa*'s costume. His head- 536
dress is of the *kĕkĕlingan* or *kĕklopingan* model, named after the 292
high-sweeping black crest shaped like the new moon which begins 796
behind the forehead decoration and gradually broadens, ending

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at the *garuda mungkur*. The same sort of crown is also used for the figure of Panji in the *arja* and *gambuh*. His diadem is gilded, hammered leather set with drop-shaped pieces of mica replacing jewels. The decorations at his temples display the *ketaki* pattern. Descriptions are also given of his ear decorations, his breastcloth and other garments, and his creese. Above his breastcloth he wears a neckerchief of the *rĕmbang* pattern with black motifs on a grey-green base. His long trousers are of white cloth, as are also his skirt, his *lĕlanchingan*, and his *kanchut*. A girdle of the same colour and a loincloth of blue cotton inlaid with gold leaf complete his outfit. The *kanchut* is a slip of the *kain* which is pulled between the legs and tucked into the girdle at the back. The *lĕlanchingan* is the part of the *kain* that hangs folded in front. The creese is worn at the back, stuck in the girdle.

The *prĕbangsa* asks the *potet* for assurance that no one equals him in the finery of his raiment, the which the *potet* eagerly gives him. Then the *prĕbangsa* announces his wish to consult with his *pĕpatihs*. The *potet* warns him that the *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs* are approaching, upon which the ruler assumes the *nĕhĕr* dance position, in which the body quivers with restrained tension. Then he addresses his warriors, urging them to train themselves in the use of arms.

PRĔBANGSA: You *rakriyans dĕmang* and *dĕmung*, harken!

POTET: Oh *pĕpatihs*, hear the commands of His Majesty.

PRĔBANGSA: I wish to ascertain your bravery and strength in battle. Follow my commands faithfully!

POTET: So be it, do not resist the will of the ruler!

PRĔBANGSA: I see that you have made yourselves ready without delay for the review of arms.

POTET: Oh *pĕpatihs*, prepare to display your courage and manly strength in competition.

PRĔBANGSA: Now I am convinced of your skills.

POTET: End your dance, *pĕpatihs*, your courage and suitability for battle have been demonstrated.

PRĔBANGSA: Hear now my commands, and follow them faithfully.

POTET: There remains a momentous command of His Majesty. Follow it loyally.

PRĔBANGSA: I cherish the intention to battle with the ruler of Mĕlayu. Array yourselves in battle formation!

EPILOGUE

PRĚBANGSA: We shall not consider the subject further. The formation of battle array has been satisfactorily prepared. Be on your way.

POTET: Cease your practising. You have trained yourselves sufficiently in the use of arms. Set out!

No description has yet been given of the costumes of the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs*. The headdress is of hammered leather with decorations beside the temples and includes a *garuda mungkur*, but not a diadem. Instead, a part of the skull is covered by rolled water-buffalo leather, which gives the impression of a high, bald forehead surrounded by locks of woolly hair. A moustache and whiskers lend a martial appearance to the face. An hibiscus is worn above the ears as a decoration. In their headdress, and also in their behaviour, the warriors in the *baris dĕmang* resemble the *dĕmangs* who precede the ruler in the *gambuh*. Another similarity is the fact that the repertoire of the *gambuh* is chosen by preference from the Panji tales and Middle Javanese historical romances.

The *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs* have on red shirts with long sleeves such as were worn by warriors before the twentieth century. (Red is still the colour for the uniforms of the village police on Lombok.) Sashes of blue-and-white-squared cloth are worn around the neck and slantwise across the breast. The trousers are of *polĕng kĕklat-katan*, a sort of plaid resembling bamboo thatchwork. The *kain* is pulled between the legs as a *kanchut*, while the loincloth has blue and white stripes running crosswise, trimmed with red, white, and blue stripes along the length of the edges.

A short, broad sword is carried in one hand. The sword is provided with a ring on the hilt, and the reverse of the blade is decorated. There is the usual blood gully, and the sharp side is indicated with white. The other hand holds a small round shield made of water-buffalo hide.

Though, as De Zoete and Spies mentioned, as far as is known the *baris dĕmang* is now only performed on anniversaries in Pura Pĕmayun, in earlier times it was also danced in the street in the village of Bungkulan, a short distance to the east of the town of Buleleng, on the occasion of the purification of the gods at the seashore.

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Buleleng, on the occasion of the purification of the gods at the seashore.

10

The Pĕnĕrus

On full moon in Kapat, the fourth month, there is a ceremony which, because it is conceived of as issuing from the anniversary on Wednesday-Klion in the week of Paang, is called *pĕnĕrus* or 'sequel'. It is also sometimes referred to as *pĕngapatan*, or 'the feast in Kapat'. The *pĕnĕrus* is also held if the full moon in Kapat does not follow a full-scale anniversary celebration, but only a 'meagre' one; then, however, it is observed in a more sober fashion.

The ceremony consists of taking the creese and the other possessions of Pura Pĕmayun to the sea temple at Labuhan Haji. For the occasion Panji Sakti's creese is placed in a palanquin for the gods which four men carry on their shoulders. After offerings have been presented and holy water requested at the sea temple, the ceremony ends with a *puspa* or *sĕkar*, in which all the magic impurity that has accumulated in Pura Pĕmayun during the course of the year is collected, being thrown into the sea. Then the gods of Majapahit, who reside in a westerly direction, across the sea, are informed of the action.

The character of the *pĕnĕrus* is completely that of a purification festival, and it is predominantly nether-worldly. In this connection it is characteristic that for it the *banjar* no longer remains passively in the background as it does in the full-moon gatherings and during the temple anniversary, when the activities of the men's and women's associations set the tone entirely. On the occasion of the *pĕnĕrus*, and also during the ceremonials of purifying the residential village at new moon in the month of Kasanga and full moon in Kadasa (and during epidemics every new moon), the *banjar* still displays its time-honoured function of the nether-worldly worship group charged with care for the ritual purity of the residential village.[10] The *banjars* are together also responsible

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for the maintenance of the cockpit, the place where the cockfights 783
(which should be considered as blood sacrifices with a nether-
worldly significance) take place; at Buleleng the *banjars* are assisted
in this respect by the *subaks* – which in the cosmic order fall in the
same category.

On *pěnĕrus* the expenses for the *gamĕlan* and the food for its [794
players, who accompany the procession all the way to Labuhan 575]
Haji, are met by the *banjar*. The musicians are paid twenty-five
rixdollars. The *banjar* moreover has the responsibility for all the
'things that are carried'. These include the creese, ceremonial
lances, parasols, and all other temple attributes. The duties are
apportioned among the crier's jurisdictions by the *pěnyarikan;* any-
one who cannot appear must provide for a substitute.

Further comments on the *pěnĕrus* ceremonial are perhaps in
order. The *puspa*, the offering thrown into the sea, consists of a
high-piled, slender cone of flowers arranged on a wooden offering
bowl. At the top of this floral cone there is a decoration of young
coconut leaf in which the most widely varying motifs have been
clipped in gossamer detail. This ornament serves as a mat for a
water lily that crowns the cone. The lily is a substitute for the
lotus. As is known, the lotus represents the cosmic focal point, the
symbol and the seat of Siwa, in the system of the *nawa-sanga*.
Moreover the flowers from which the *puspa* is made are arranged
in the chief colours of the *nawa-sanga*, since the surface of the cone
has four sections consisting in turn of white, red, yellow and dark
blue flowers: white frangipane flowers, red hibiscuses, yellow *kĕmĕ-
ratan* or *kumitir*, and blue flowers of the *tĕlĕng*, a variety of creeper.
When the *puspa* is to be offered the colours are oriented according
to the *nawa-sanga:* the white side is turned to the east (Iswara), the
red to the south (Brahma), the yellow to the west (Mahadewa),
and the black to the north (Wisnu).

On *pěnĕrus* this *puspa* is thrown into the sea nearby the sea temple 792
at Labuhan Haji. This temple enjoys the attention of many
villages in the vicinity, particularly as a place for the ceremony of
purifying the gods. To mention an example, Labuhan Haji plays
an important rôle in the offering ceremonial of Gobleg. It has

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not yet been sufficiently investigated what reason there may be for this preference. The people of the area believe that the temple derives its significance from the fact that its connection with Majapahit is very obvious, or, as they put it, a descendant of the gods of Majapahit resides at the Labuhan Haji sea temple. The deity bears the title of Ratu Ngurah Sĕgara Sakti, and has a disciple called Dewa Taksu Bungkah Karang. There is also an offering column on the temple grounds dedicated to the demon guarding the court. Such a figure is usually called the *ngĕrurah* (guardian) or *sĕdahan* (steward). At Labuhan Haji he answers to the proper name of Jĕro Nyoman Pĕngadangan.

Ratu Ngurah Sĕgara Sakti's name is clear: he is the deity controlling the sea. As everywhere on Bali, then, here there is a striking link between the gods of Majapahit and the sea. In Sĕngkidu, Nyuhtĕbĕl, and other villages on the south coast of Karangasĕm the god of Majapahit is invoked to descend at the seashore, in order to be taken in state to the *pura puseh*, and at the end of the ceremonies performed in his presence he is again taken leave of at the seashore. At Kayubii it is a tradition that the *sĕlunding* orchestra, which is identified with the gods of Majapahit, came out of the sea.[11] In keeping with all this is the fact that *kĕlod*, the direction of the sea, is also the specific direction of the gods of Majapahit.[12]

As regards Dewa Taksu Bungkah Karang, the title of *dewa* rather than *ratu* or *batara* indicates that he is a deity of lesser rank. The *dewa taksu* belongs in the category of the intercessors; his altar is the smallest one in the temple, and concludes the row. According to popular belief the *dewa taksu* has the shape of a child. The word *bungkah* means to 'dip out', 'to clean up'; *karang* means coral. Hence this deity also has to do with the sea: he is the humble assistant of Ratu Ngurah Sĕgara Sakti and has the task of cleaning up coral reefs and promoting shipping.

The demonic guardian of the temple grounds, Jĕro Nyoman Pĕngadangan, is a remarkable figure. *Jĕro* is the title of address for persons belonging to the *sudra* caste, while *nyoman* is the designation for the third child. The word *pĕngadangan* derives from

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ngadang or *mĕgadang*, meaning 'to guard', 'to spend the night guarding'. It is said that in earlier times, when the journey was still made on foot, people from Bratan *en route* to Pětěmon and to Jĕmbrana never failed to pay homage at the sea temple and to make offerings on passing Labuhan Haji. (All but a few of the inhabitants of Bratan belong to the genealogical group of *pandes*, descendants of the traditional metalsmiths who are now scattered throughout Bali. A few decades ago a number of people from Bratan settled in newly opened territory in the west, especially in Pětěmon and Jĕmbrana, and frequent contacts with the village of origin are still maintained.) It was also customary that on returning home safely to Bratan a traveller erected a *sanggah charukchuk* in his compound, and from there invoked the deity at Labuhan Haji. On this occasion interest was concentrated exclusively on Jĕro Nyoman Pĕngadangan, whose attention was attracted with the exclamation *ku-uk*. One of the offerings required for this *jĕro nyoman* was opium, together with a whole set of opium smoker's equipment. (This prescription is less expensive in its consequences than it might seem, since the opium and the accompanying utensils can be asked back after the ceremonial has been completed.)

The significance of the word *haji* in the name Labuhan Haji is not certain. It is not very probable that it actually has to do with someone who made the pilgrimage to Mecca, though there are many Moslems living in the hamlet at the present time. Possibly there is an association with the fact that on Java the realm of Majapahit was succeeded by an Islamic political order. It might also be a reference to the Balinese word *aji*, which means 'ruler' or 'father', and is frequently used in the title of address for *pĕdandas*. It may be that in this connection a tie must be sought with priestly figures such as Pĕdanda Dwijendra, who according to tradition brought the culture of Majapahit to Bali. There are a number of links between Dwijendra and western Buleleng, where the wise man lost his eldest daughter, Swabawa, at Pulaki.

In the *desa* of Bratan one of the village functionaries is called the *pasĕk haji*, without its being apparent what the actual meaning of

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776 the title may be. Bratan also provides other parallels with La-
782 buhan Haji. Comparable to the unusual custom that Jĕro Nyo-
177 man Pĕngadangan is regaled with opium is the following: in two household temples in Bratan there are altars for Dewa Gĕde Madura, a deity hailing from Madura. As a Moslem this god eats no pork, but rice steamed in leaves with skewered meat, the specifically Madurese dish, is never lacking at the ritual. Batara Paakan di Tĕgal, who has a chapel in the *desa* temple, is also Moslem and not permitted to eat pork (a prohibition which is called *nyĕlam*, from *sĕlam*). He is likewise of overseas origin, and comes from Grĕsik, the old port town near Surabaya. His altar is oriented towards the sea.

177 Nor does Bratan lack a Chinese deity. In the coconut groves to
776 the west of the *pura dalĕm* is a place where the ground is very rich in lime and is completely white. This spot is considered as the residence of a god who, when he takes possession of a medium, speaks only Chinese. (It is said of the Moslem gods that they express themselves *via* a medium only in Malay or Javanese. It is usually not long before the medium asks for a black cap, a pair of trousers, and shoes, to Balinese the indispensable attributes for a Moslem from Java.) The Chinese deity has the function of being 'the god to whom the land belongs'. A few years ago an offering column surrounded by a wall was built for him at this spot amidst the coconut groves, after the god himself had expressed the desire for it. Every morning after rice has been cooked the sharecropper guarding the coconut grove makes a small rice offering at the column. Each *rĕrainan* the owner of the grove offers *ajĕngan*, *kĕtipat*, and *chanang raka*. Occasionally, for example on the anniversary of the coconut groves and on Chinese New Year, a barbecued pig is offered. Moreover the owner regularly goes there to make offerings when there is something going on in his own household temple. The white earth is considered as medicine by many people. Persons asking for it bring a few offerings, and usually pledge a vow to the god to make him a present once they have been cured. The god would not be Chinese if his wishes were not primarily for fireworks.

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A few further comments regarding the word *puspa* may be made. 782
Derived from Sanskrit, it originally meant 'flower'. The *puspa* is also used in connection with one of the ceremonies after cremation, *ngrorasin*, for which reason that ceremony is sometimes called *pĕmuspaan*. *Pĕmuspaan* is also the designation for the day in a temple festival when homage is paid to the gods and offerings are made, and paying homage is sometimes called *amuspa*.

The *pĕnĕrus* or *pĕngapatan* is also observed ceremonially for Pura Pĕnyĕti. In keeping with the name, the ceremony there also falls on the full moon in the fourth month, Kapat. Only the men's and the women's associations of the temple take part in the ceremony. Its *puspa* is not taken to Labuhan Haji, but to the beach near another sea temple, Pura Pidada, which lies a short distance to the west of the town of Buleleng.

II

Rĕrainan

Besides the temple anniversary, there are several other memorial 786
days of lesser importance when offerings are made at Pura Pĕ- 782
mayun. These *rĕrainans*, or favourable days, are in the first place every Wednesday-Klion (because the temple anniversary falls on a Wednesday-Klion), and also Wednesday-Wage, Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion), *tumpĕk* (Saturday-Klion), full moon, and new moon. On such days offerings are made by the *pĕmangku* individually, and at full moon also by the women's association, with the men's association contributing to the costs of the various offerings.

The *pĕmangku*'s offerings for each *rĕrainan* consist of *chanang raka*, presented exclusively at the pavilion of the gods, and *kĕtipat*, presented before the altar of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar, who has a claim to special treatment as an intercessor. These offerings, which are inexpensive, and most of which are moreover asked back after they have been presented, are paid for by the *pĕmangku* out of his own means. The offerings made by the women's association on full moon consist of *chanang ajĕngan* and *pangkonan*.

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The Purification Ritual

782 [783] In periods of disaster, epidemics, or pestilence purification offerings with a clearly pronounced nether-worldly tendency are made at new moon. In the first place the *pĕmangku* presents *chanang ajĕngan* at every altar in Pura Pĕmayun, then he goes to the place where the alley giving access to the temple crosses the street, at which point an offering platform of bamboo (*laapan*) has been erected. There *chanang ajĕngan* and *pangkonan* are offered to the 'god of the way' (*batara di lĕbuh*), whom one worships facing towards the street. Then *charu* is presented to the demonic disciples of the god beneath the offering platform. The costs of this offering ceremonial are met by the men's and women's associations jointly. Once homage has been paid and offerings made in the temple and at the *laapan*, this is a sign for the *banjar* to offer *charu* at the village boundaries. As a complement to the offering of *charu*, *chanang ajĕngan* is presented in the temple at full moon; *chanang sĕkar ayatan*, *sĕkar sĕtaman*, and *chanang ajĕngan* are then offered to the gods and *pasĕgĕhan* to their demonic disciples at the bamboo offering platform.

778 776 782 The god of the way does not have any special chapel in Pura Pĕmayun, but only the temporary offering platform at the entrance of the alley leading to the temple. In the region of Bangli a wooden altar in the forecourt of the *kĕlod*-oriented temple is devoted to the god of the way. A clear example is Pura Kĕhĕn, near the town of Bangli. The word *lĕbuh* means road or street, but also suggests certain words with related roots but somewhat different meanings such as 'to go outside', 'to fall', 'to sink', 'to shatter', and 'dust'. The word may also be related to *mĕrĕrĕbu*, 'to hold a purification ceremony'. At the same time the god of the way is also a god of the downward direction (*labuh*). At each ceremony in Pura Pĕmayun offerings are also made to the god of the downward direction as a nether-worldly complement to the ceremony. This deity moreover plays a rôle whenever something of importance is going to happen, for example when a music or dance

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performance is to be given, as a result of which an offering has to be made to the demons. As was said, this is especially the case in times of epidemics and other disasters.

Of the offerings mentioned, *chanang ajĕngan* consists of rice in the form of a hemisphere and provided with meat dressings. *Ajĕngan* is the word used for rice dishes when speaking about gods or persons of high rank. In the *pangkonan* the rice is prepared in the same way, but the meat dishes are set on the offering bowl separately, and the whole offering is crowned by a high, cone-shaped covering of *lontar* leaves.[1] When the offerings are made in periods of disaster, chicken is substituted for the meat dishes in order to restrict the costs of the ceremonial. However, in case the *pangkonan* for the *batara di lĕbuh* serves as a nether-worldly counterpart for the ceremony in the temple, the same meat dishes are used as those in the temple offerings.

The *chanang sĕkar ayatan* consists primarily of various flowers. The word *ngayat* has the meaning of 'to direct towards', and is used particularly to indicate that a certain god is invoked to appear. The *sĕkar sĕtaman* has the form of a small house, and is intended to represent a bower in a pleasure garden. It is made with four branches of the white frangipane tree, each a hand's breadth long, as uprights. A strip of young coconut leaf decorated with filigree work is attached to each of the uprights, and the ends of the strips are fastened together to form a cupola called a *mĕtagĕl lis*. The *lis* is a large bunch of young, whitish-green palm leaves which is attributed an intricate symbolic significance and serves to sprinkle holy water. (Probably derived from *lis* is the word *mĕlis:* taking the gods to a source temple or sea temple to cleanse them of magical impurities by sprinkling them with holy water.) The word *mĕtagĕl* means 'bend over'.

Pasĕgĕhan is a term for offerings made on the ground to the *kalas* and *butas*. The *pasĕgĕhan* consists primarily of lumps of rice (*gibungan*) set out in small containers of folded banana leaves. In everyday life a *gibung* is a portion of rice serving four people. In offering a *pasĕgĕhan* it is also the custom to make small libations of water, palm wine, and rice wine; often a knife is put on the ground for

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782 a short time while the offering is being made. A *pasĕgĕhan* must also be accompanied by a smouldering piece of dried coconut bark as a fire offering. The ethereal essence of the offering is waved towards the ground, that is to say in the direction where the demons are presumed to be, with either the outstretched hand or an offering-cover. *Charu*, derived from Sanskrit, is another term for an offering to the demons. Usually a *charu* is larger in size than a *pasĕgĕhan*, and sometimes expensive slaughter animals such as cattle are used.

575 The purification ritual culminates in the annual all-Balinese
782 purification ceremony on new moon of the ninth month, Kasanga,
796 which is directed by the village authorities as represented by the *klihan desa* in his function as superior over all the *banjar* heads. In each *banjar* levies are made. These levies, which are collected by the *pĕnyarikan banjar* and handed over to the *klihan desa*, serve to cover the expenses of the purification ceremony, and are usually only made once the expenses have been calculated after the ceremony, in order to be able to determine the amount of each individual levy precisely.

796 In the *desa* of Buleleng the purification ceremony is held in alter-
782 nate years at the crossroads in front of the palace of the *anak agung*, the ruling prince of the region of Buleleng, and in alternate years at the crossroads in front of the village's *pura bale agung*. Beforehand a *pĕdanda* and a *sĕngguhu* request holy water in the village temple. A portion of holy water of each of the two sorts is set aside for each *banjar*, and is divided among the members of the *banjar* by the *banjar* head at the *bale banjar*. Then the *mĕbuhu-buhu* can commence. In each individual compound first the household temple and then the profane part of the compound are sprinkled with holy water. The water from the *pĕdanda* is scattered with an upward movement, and that from the *sĕngguhu* in a movement downwards. *Nasi tawar*, unsalted cooked rice, is also scattered, and certain objects are spit upon with finely chewed vegetable matter, including *mĕsuwi*, the bark of a certain tree. The entire ritual is accompanied by kettle music, the sounding of signal blocks, and the waving of burning torches.

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Cockfights are also held on this day, first in the *pura bale agung* and then in every other temple, always in the forecourt. Afterwards the example is followed in every *bale banjar*. The gods in Pura Pěmayun are informed of the purification ceremony with *chanang ajěngan* and *pangkonan*.

The day of purification at the end of Kasanga is followed by the Nyěpi ceremonial on the first day of Kadasa, the tenth month. On full moon in Kadasa, the first full moon after Nyěpi, the representatives of all the *banjars* go to the *pura bale agung*, carrying their holy objects and temple possessions with them. The creese belonging to Pura Pěmayun is also taken along; among the temple's other attributes are oblong plaited boxes containing cloths, flower offerings, Chinese doits, and thread. From the *pura bale agung* the procession goes to the sea temple of Buleleng, where a ceremony is held similar to that observed on *pěnĕrus*. The procession to the sea temple on full moon in Kadasa is called *mĕkiis* or *mĕlis*. In the region of Jĕmbrana the *mĕkiis* has developed into the most important ceremonial of the festive calendar. People from the whole region congregate at three different places on the seashore. For the success of the ceremony the presence of the ruler, the *anak agung*, is essential.

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The Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt

by

H. J. Franken

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"Het feest van Djajaprana te Kalianget" (The Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt), by H. J. Franken, was published in Dutch in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Contributions to Philology, Geography, and Ethnology), CVII (1951), 1–30.

[p. 232 contain no textural material]

[p. 234]

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The Festival of Jayaprana at Kaliangĕt

Roundabout August, 1949, the northern Balinese *desa* of Kaliangĕt celebrated a festival the preparations for which had taken some months. Consisting of a series of ceremonies which took place during the course of several weeks and which completely absorbed the attention and energy of the village, the festival bore a character entirely different from usual ones. The purpose of these notes is to provide some insight into the origin and meaning of this festival in their relation to the general fabric of religious and social life on Bali.

The festival's aim was to celebrate an ordinary cremation. However, it developed into an event with a much wider purport, and one gains the impression that a particular psychological attitude of the population in the post-war period seized upon it as a means of expressing itself.

According to an extant folk ballad Jayaprana came from the *desa* of Kaliangĕt. The site of his grave is known, but nowhere does the ballad mention his cremation, and in Kaliangĕt the people had for some years had the idea of organizing a cremation for him. In the course of 1949 it was decided to proceed with this project. There were a great variety of reasons for finally taking the decision. The material poverty of the village was an important cause, as was also the post-war atmosphere in the region. But it was the genuine popular religion that furnished the material for the form in which the festival developed.

There is no need to speak here of cremation on Bali in general.[1] Wherever it is necessary for an understanding of the Jayaprana festival the component parts will be mentioned. For proper insight into the cremation festival on Bali, it is well to bear in mind Margaret Mead's remark: "Cremation ... is dramatic,

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but not a final solution ..."[2] This festival, too, was without finality. Begun as a cremation to be performed in order to obtain somewhat more blessing on work in future, and at the least not to be troubled by the spirit of Jayaprana, the festival concluded with the hero emerging in greater glory, and even being proclaimed a kind of saviour. In comparison with other cremations the project was, at the outset, simple in plan. The wholesale interest which it aroused, however, expanded the festivities, adding a quality much prized by the Balinese – bustle.

I

Introductory Remarks

THE FOLK BALLAD

The *Jayaprana* is a very widespread and familiar ballad on Bali. The Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation copy contains a hundred seventy-nine stanzas. The contents are, in brief, as follows: In the *desa* of Kaliangĕt a family is stricken by sickness from which all perish except a son, Jayaprana, who, as the sole survivor, is taken into the household of the ruler, the *anak agung*.[3] When after a number of years the young man's merit has made its mark, he obtains permission from the *anak agung* to choose a wife for himself from among the ruler's subjects. In the *pasar* he chances upon a young woman from Banjar called Ni Nyoman Layon Sari. He marries her, but the *anak agung* becomes enamoured of his subject's bride and plans to have Jayaprana put out of the way. Pretending that raiding pirates have landed at the extreme north-western point of Bali, he sends Jayaprana thither with an army, at the same time instructing his *patih* to kill the young man on his arrival in the endangered area, Chĕluk Tĕrima. Although various signs give Jayaprana a premonition of what awaits him on the execution of the order, he sets out on his way as a man duty-bound. Not even his wife is able to restrain him from going to fight.

Arriving at Chĕluk Tĕrima, Jayaprana learns from the *patih* what his orders are, whereupon he reconciles himself to death.

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After he has been killed the *patih*'s men have a very arduous return journey, since nature is preparing to avenge the murder. Badly battered, the troops come home. Layon Sari is then asked in marriage by the *anak agung*, but she commits suicide in order not to abandon Jayaprana.

The ballad is known throughout Bali. Many *desas* have one or more copies of it among their *lontars*, and it enjoys particular interest. It is much staged in the *arja*, the folk theatre. The metre lends itself particularly well to the high, thin voices of young girls which people hear with pleasure. For this reason all the young girls in northern Bali know the poem by heart, so it is said.

The ballad has become further known through the activities of the reading clubs.[4] It was published in *Djataju*, a pre-war Balinese monthly, and was selected to be included in part in an anthology of Balinese literature intended for teacher-training courses. Pupils at the grammar schools at Singaraja have staged it as a play in a kind of modern adaptation.[5] Not only is the tale universally known on Bali, but it has also been spread on Java through a Javanese translation, or adaptation, made by Mas Nitisastra.[6]

THE DESA KALIANGĔT

Kaliangĕt lies in northern Bali in the principality of Buleleng, some ten miles to the west of the capital, Singaraja, and a mile south of the coastal road. In every respect, Banjar, which is situated to the east of Kaliangĕt and is the seat of the *punggawa*, or district officer, is a more important centre.

Banjar and its environs, the flat *sawah* area as well as the mountains beginning due south, were the scene of much fighting in the first years after the war. The resistance movement found a great following among the population there, and in such a situation accidents were bound to happen. The *punggawa* himself was among the victims of the struggle for liberty. The *desa* proved to be reluctant to come into contact with Dutch people.[7] The recent struggle against the Dutch had not been the first in its history:

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in 1868 the Banjarese took part in a battle in which a Dutch expeditionary force was repulsed.

Kaliangĕt is known as a poor *desa*. Few people have *sawahs*, and the inhabitants seek work elsewhere as wage earners, either in the neighbourhood or on the coffee plantations in the hills. (A marriage is also often a motive to forsake the *desa* completely, so that even in the village proper there are vacant compounds.) The *desa* lies on the last spurs of the mountain slopes, on the fringe of the irrigable *sawah* area.

Health conditions along the whole of the northern coast of Bali and the steep mountain slopes are bad. Especially during the seasonal shift of the monsoon, epidemics frequently break out, with many people dying. People often impute such deaths to black magic, which they themselves also practice. The many cases of eye disease there are also generally ascribed to it, as well as those of insanity.

Considering its penurious state, plus the general post-war condition of scarcity and the loss of lives through the disorders of the past years, it is understandable that the *desa* of Kaliangĕt should ponder on ways of bettering circumstances and life in general. Any attempt at improvement had, in the first instance, to be undertaken in the religious field. Calamities revive the feeling that the people have been negligent in that sphere. On Bali after the war there was a true religious revival, discernible in the fulfilment of duties towards the gods and expressing itself in temple restoration, cremation, and so forth. This is a normal phenomenon. The unusual feature of the Jayaprana festival did not lie therein, but in the way that feeling found its expression.

Kaliangĕt is not a *Bali-aga desa*, a village with traditions dating from the pre-Hindu period, such as the neighbouring Sidatapa, and consequently cremation is regarded as the legitimate method of disposing of the dead.

JAYAPRANA AND KALIANGĔT

In Kaliangĕt there is a temple dedicated to Jayaprana, Pura Jaran Guyang. With the help of surrounding *desas* this temple was

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restored in 1934, after which the name was changed to Pura Pariang Wiswa Mapwa. People in the *desa* are of the opinion that the *pura* has an age of a hundred ninety *abads*, each *abad* now being considered as eighty years, though formerly the period was longer.

The village also possesses Jayaprana's compound and a gigantic rice-pounding block. Pura Prabu, at the southern boundary of the *desa*, is considered to be connected with the ruler or *prabu* who was responsible for Jayaprana's murder.

Even in the period before the war there must have been a plan in the *desa* for the cremation of Jayaprana. At that time the execution of the plan was prevented by the poverty of the *desa*, though *desa* members were convinced that a cremation festival would bring deliverance from their sufferings. The idea was kept alive by a number of tales about encounters with the spirit of Jayaprana. A grave was established for him shortly before the war: it lies in the place where he was murdered, in northwestern Bali.

Jayaprana had long wished to return to Kaliangĕt, and he conveyed his desire to the people by bringing about mysterious accidents. Moreover he brought blessings to the *desa*. There is a story, for instance, that a cloudburst which would not cease was brought under control by Jayaprana after the *desa* had promised to repair an offering platform in his temple. In difficult circumstances people often make such promises. And one finds offering platforms in a state of collapse in almost every temple.

THE BALIAN OF BAKUNG

Two miles to the south of Singaraja is the *desa* of Bakung. There lives a *balian* (a person who discharges a function in the religious services of the *desa* and in particular maintains contact with the gods) who in recent years has enjoyed great renown as a medium conjuring up the dead. The Chinese, especially, make use of his services, as through him they can converse with the dead person in Chinese, hear how he fares, and even settle current business with him.

The rumour of this *balian*'s fame reached the village elders of Kaliangĕt, and they paid three visits to him. The festival owed

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793 diverse remarkable features to indications obtained, in this way, directly from the dead Jayaprana himself. The influence of such a medium can be very great, for good and evil alike.

THE INNOCENT VICTIM

683 766 The innocent victim of murder needs to be treated with great care on Bali. It is fitting that a small temple be erected for the victim by the murderer or his descendants. As a result of the murder the victim becomes *suchi* or ethically pure, and it is his due to be specially venerated. The problem in the case of Jayaprana (and in the case of many slain *pĕmudas*) is that the murder was committed by order of a higher authority. For that reason the family of such a murderer often returns to the matter of the murder much later, and endeavours to organize the cremation of the victim. The recollection of the murder is kept alive because whenever there are accidents great or small the conclusion is drawn that the spirit of the murdered one is still active. Consequently one day there must be an atonement.[8]

People found the murder of Jayaprana all the worse because, according to tradition, the murderer had not informed Jayaprana what the real purpose of the journey was until just before the murder occurred.

2

The Festival

THE DECISION OF THE DESA

527 769 In the opinion of the *desa*, contact with the spirit of Jayaprana naturally dates from the time that he was murdered. Certain it is that Jayaprana has occupied men's thoughts for many years. The execution of the long existing plans came about in this way. Roundabout May, 1949, contact was sought anew with Jayaprana by means of offerings and trance. For the hundredth time it was made known that a cremation must be held in order to enable Jayaprana to return to the *desa*. As usual these all-too-familiar words found little approbation. However, people speed-

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ily found out that Jayaprana's patience was by this time exhausted. 527
He loosed a stream of events which were clearly to be interpreted 769
as omens.

The *desa* elder who felt least inclined towards the cremation was 787
punished with sickness in his family. A special sign was that 769
villagers stumbled and fell time and again. A fisherman from 527
western Bali came to tell of a vision in which Jayaprana had commanded that he must be cremated. And so forth.

Thereupon it was resolved to consult the *balian* of Bakung. Eight of the elders were delegated. They concealed the reason for their journey from the *balian*, and when he had gone into a trance they carried on the following conversation with Jayaprana:

QUESTION: Who are you?
ANSWER: I am not saying my name.
QUESTION: How then can we know who you are?
ANSWER: I am always at your festivals, at the *arja* and the *sandiwara*.
QUESTION: Are you then Jayaprana?
ANSWER: Yes. I know that you are poor, but you must provide for me. Have no anxiety about the expense. I am sending you what you need.

This conversation convinced all the *desa* elders except one, who said he would rather think of his own cremation obligations. However, when he arrived home he was punished, for a dog bit his child, with fatal results. With this the last objection disappeared.

In order not to be dependent on the *balian*, however, it was 527
decided to have the date of the cremation determined by a fellow- 769
villager who was a deaf-mute. He could not be enlightened by anyone but Jayaprana himself, and he decided on 12 August as the date.

As helpers for the *desa* elders the *pĕtang-dasa* were appointed: forty young men who wore as a badge a white headband and who had to be available day and night to perform tasks.

Without any notion of the size the festival would soon acquire, 526
the people tried to borrow money from the credit bank. Before the bank had granted the loan, however, it became apparent that

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it would be superfluous because of the help that turned up from elsewhere.

Not only did Jayaprana see to all the necessaries, but he also gave constant guidance to the festival by means of trances. As a result the influence of the *pĕdandas* was limited. They performed their ceremonies according to the prescripts, but they could not keep the festival within the bounds of an ordinary cremation. In this case they accepted without protest the fact that the festivities ultimately resulted in serious caste violations.

THE FOUR CEREMONIES

It was formally announced by the *desa* that the four following ceremonies would be held: (*a*) 1 August, 1949 – the 'awakening' of the dead person (the procession to Chĕluk Tĕrima to open the grave and remove the remains); (*b*) 6 August – the purification; (*c*) 11 August – the homage; (*d*) 12 August – the cremation.

Before relating something of these four ceremonies a description may be given of the site where the three last-mentioned ceremonies were held.

Several buildings were erected in the centre of the village, where there is a large cockpit. Everything was completely covered with paper and cotton cloth so that the assembly of temporary buildings was totally white.

The tower in which the *adĕgan*, the effigy of the dead person, was to be borne to the place of cremation had seven roofs, which is a caste privilege.[9] In addition a *padmasana* – the lotus-seat on which *pĕdandas* are carried to the place of cremation – was built.[10]

The cockpit was extended to provide a large covered space where the guests could deposit their offerings and where at the same time they could stay themselves. A kind of chapel consisting of three parts was built next to it. The offerings for the demons were placed on the ground at the chapel's unroofed entrance, where the small elevated bamboo platform from which the *pĕdanda* directed his prayers also stood. Then there was a covered part of the chapel in which those who had tendered their offerings worshipped and received holy water. This second part of the chapel adjoined

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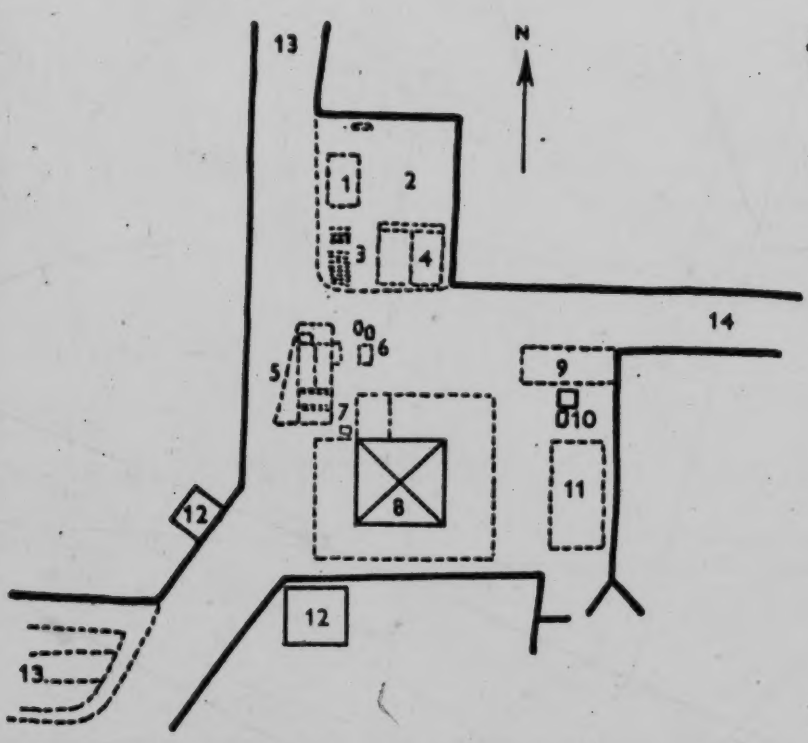

FESTIVAL SITE IN THE CENTRE OF KALIANGĔT

1 *Gamĕlan*
2 Equipment for the cremation
3 Cremation tower
4 Cash desk
5 Chapel
6 Altar of Surya
7 Altar of Batara Pura Bĕsakih
8 Cockpit
9 *Warong*
10 Signal block and water container
11 Shed for preparation of offerings
12 *Warong* for prominent guests
13 Kitchen
14 Entry
15 Exit

(Temporary structures are indicated by broken lines.)

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the niche in which the symbols of Jayaprana and Layona Sir were to be found, the *bale bandung*.

To the east of this chapel was an altar for Surya, the sun god, and one for the deity of Pura Bĕsakih. To the southwest large kitchens and dining spaces were built; further eastwards there was a big shed in which the offerings were prepared, and to the north a kind of cash desk where gifts could be made. A place was reserved for the *gamĕlan* and for dancing, and also for the various palanquins and so forth. The cow served as the cremation animal.[11]

For several months there was great activity in Kaliangĕt. In the first place, the offerings had to be renewed each day. Groups of women under the direction of the *tukang bantĕn*, the woman expert in the preparation of offerings, occupied themselves with making the offerings for the entrance to the *desa*, all holy objects, the *kalas* or demons at different places, the deity of Pura Bĕsakih, Surya, the effigies of Jayaprana, the water casks and the places where holy water was drawn, the distant worshipping places, and so forth.

Then there were guests who, in continually greater numbers, came with offerings prepared at home. These deposited their offerings in the cockpit and then made a pilgrimage through the *desa*, beginning at the chapel of Jayaprana. The offerings prepared under the guidance of the *tukang bantĕn*, as well as those brought along by the guests, were made entirely according to custom: the daily offerings of baskets filled with all kinds of ingredients; the special cremation offerings, in customary fashion placed near the symbols of the body (and themselves partly meant as symbols of the dead person); and the offerings brought from elsewhere, built up high on a banana stem and carried on the head in a silver bowl.[12]

Once the *desa*'s intentions and its initial preparations became known, a stream of visitors began which kept up until after the cremation day. A group of folk in a *desa* would conceive the idea of going to Kaliangĕt, then they would endeavour to get transport or, failing that, would resolve to go on foot. Scores of parties

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in trucks and buses visited the *desa* daily, but besides thousands 527
came on foot, sometimes from a great distance. On arriving at 769
the *desa*, they put everything in order again and the women walked in a line, one behind the other, with their offerings on their heads. Coming to the entrance of the *desa* they were met by a reception committee and were sprinkled with holy water. All the visitors were given a narrow white fillet to tie in their hair or around their heads as a token of unity with the holy atmosphere.

Arriving at the chapel, they read the Indonesian words of welcome written on a sign:

> *Kami pĕrsilahkan para pĕndatang*
> *masuk dĕngan hati bebas dan suchi.*
>
> (We invite all visitors to enter
> with a free and pure heart.)

First of all they took their offerings to the platform in the cockpit, so that it was constantly covered completely with silver bowls in which the offering fruits lay piled up, covered with basket work. The blessing and consecration of the offerings took some time; during that time the men handed over their financial contributions at the cash desk, where six cashiers had their hands full to receive everything. The blessed offerings were not left behind, but, as usual, were taken back home. Before visitors picked up their offerings again they went to attend the ceremony in the chapel, where from early morning to late evening services were held continuously. There they received a frangipane flower in which a stick of frankincense was placed so that it stuck up through the flower. Then after the stick of incense had been lighted, the [782]
flower was placed in the hair. During the prayers, however, the stick was taken between the two forefingers. Here also, offerings of the visitors were frequently presented and consecrated. The women were in the front of the chapel, the men behind, and finally the young people. The service consisted of recitations, chanted prayers, and the worship of Jayaprana, and concluded with the visitors being sprinkled with holy water. One sometimes

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527 769 also saw the young people using a *kretek* cigarette at prayers in place of a frankincense stick.

527 769 788 The service was followed by a pilgrimage through the *desa*, first in an easterly direction to Pura Jaran Guyang, where the same service as in the chapel was held, but now in the open, and with the name of the *desa* from which people came announced, while at the same time the visitors smoothed holy water on their hair and also sipped it, as is customary.

From there the procession advanced southwards to the site of Jayaprana's compound and his rice-pounding block. The latter was used as an offering block: a white cloth with a slot was stretched over it, and each person who worshipped there offered a silver coin. The rest of the ceremony was like the previous one in Pura Jaran Guyang. Then the people went along the southerly *desa* boundary to Pura Prabu in order to render homage to the murderer, after which they found themselves back at the kitchens, where a meal was ready.

Then, by following a strip of linen laid along the path, they could go to the place, some eight hundred yards distant from the centre, where the holy water was fetched daily and where they could bathe in the pool. On the way there was every opportunity to learn what miracles Jayaprana was at present performing, what blessings fell to the lot of believers, and what penalties to unbelievers. The visitors went home with the obligation to urge others to make the visit.

From June till September a practically unbroken stream of people went on the pilgrimage in this way. Many Balinese even came over from other islands (Lombok, Java, Celebes) especially for the festival.

In addition to this daily ritual there were the four great ceremonies previously mentioned. Moreover special mention may be made of the ceremonies performed to obtain a decision from Jayaprana, the daily rites for the provision of holy water, the reception of special guests, and the officiating of the *pĕdandas*.

Each evening three *gamĕlan* troupes performed, the majority of them *joged* troupes.[13]

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THE AWAKENING

The ceremony of the bringing of the 'corpse' to the *desa* took two days. The interest was by then already so great that a procession of more than fifty buses and trucks full of people drove to Chĕluk Tĕrima in the afternoon to witness the return of Jayaprana.

When, as a result of long postponement of cremation, a grave contains no traces of the corpse, the *pĕdanda* is asked to make an *adĕgan*, an effigy of the dead person which is inscribed with the appropriate letters and serves as a substitute. A ceremony takes place in which the person to be cremated is 'incorporated' in the *adĕgan*.[14]

The grave at Chĕluk Tĕrima came into existence in the following way: a Balinese merchant named Desa Kĕtuh, married to a Chinese woman, promised a grave to Jayaprana on condition that he would make it possible for him to earn a hundred thousand guilders in a short time. At once he was favoured by fortune, and during the Second World War he reached his goal, so after the war he was able to honour his promise. At the first rumour of the cremation festival he sent the amount of twenty-five thousand guilders to the *desa*.

The head of the grave lies in a northwesterly direction. The site of the grave, which was ascertained at the time by means of a trance, is on the fringe of the *sawah* area of the Invisible Ones of Pulaki. The high grass that grows there in the rainy season may not be cut or burnt, as it is regarded as the 'paddy of Pulaki'.[15]

The incorporation of the spirit into the *adĕgan* is followed by a purification ceremony. At that moment the whole course of the festival was considerably influenced by a fortuitous circumstance. It was Jayaprana's whim that someone without a gold ring should be sought to assist the *pĕdanda*. (Usually the purification may only be performed by someone who does wear such a ring.) A well-known *tukang bantĕn* of the royal residence at Singaraja who was present proved not to be wearing a ring and was assigned to help. From that moment she became one of the most important figures in the festivities.

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527 On the way back a miracle occurred at the rock of Pulaki. Jaya-
769 prana was apparently assumed to have been associated with this place, and hence a purification ceremony had to be held there. Pura Pulaki is situated at a place where the rock-face rises perpendicularly from the sea, and the path is carved out of the rock. No water at all is to be found there. Now, however, the *pĕdanda* stepped up to the rocks, took a leaf from a bush, folded it like a small funnel, and pressed it against the rock-face, upon which there flowed from the rock fifteen drops of water which were caught in a beaker for holy water. Thereupon the purification ceremony could be performed.

Upon their arrival at Kaliangĕt the *adĕgans* of Jayaprana and Layon Sari were placed in the *bale bandung* which had been prepared for them.

THE PURIFICATION

783 The ceremony of *pĕmbĕrsihan* is an important ritual of purifying the *adĕgan* which is usually performed in the compound of a *pĕdanda*.[16] The ceremony for Jayaprana took place on 6 August. For this purpose a sort of bamboo bench on which the effigies were laid for the purification was arranged in one of the *bales* in the *pĕdanda*'s compound. The whole day was spent in making the offerings ready for the ceremony, after which the people marched in procession to the *pĕdanda*'s house. The festival repeatedly showed a tendency to expand at important moments, and hence in this case the ceremony was not finished in one single day.

In the late evening three people – a village elder, the *pĕdanda*, and the woman who had performed the purification at Chĕluk Tĕrima (a *mĕkĕle*) – were sitting together near the *bale* where the *adĕgans* lay. Then the *bale* was approached by a bent figure, who, without showing his face, walked under it with a stooping gait. His hair was tied up on the crown, like that of a *pĕdanda*. Noiselessly he disappeared again into the gloom. The three spectators sat motionless with astonishment, while a continuous procession of figures came behind the first one, all of them shuffling under

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the *bale* with the *adĕgans*. Thus the Invisible Ones of Pulaki paid their homage to Jayaprana. Their visit lasted as much as four hours.[17]

In northern Bali there are all kinds of stories in circulation about meetings with 'Pulaki people', who also play a rôle in folk tales.[18] This nocturnal apparition will have contributed not a little to the equation of Jayaprana with the figure of Nirartha.

THE PUBLICITY, THE VISITORS, AND THE ATMOSPHERE

About this time the bustle was at its greatest. Hence here is perhaps the appropriate place to comment on the atmosphere which characterized the festival. That atmosphere was itself the thing that made the festival so exceptional, and in all the proceedings it had a certain decisive influence on the ceremonies. It reached its greatest intensity at the time of the *pĕmbĕrsihan*, the purification.

The rumour of the festival spread like wildfire over the whole of Bali, and also reached the colonies of Balinese outside the island. Particularly the bus and truck drivers helped to spread the latest news day by day.

A single example of how news spread. A letter from Jayaprana came to Banjar. Everybody accepted this as a fact. Special features were that the letter had been written in a totally unknown script and that no one had yet been able to read it. The *mĕkĕle* said of it that she gave a twenty per cent. chance that the report was true, but if anyone dared to enquire, people answered with an irritated: "Aren't you of the Balinese religion?" The report was speedily supplemented by the rumour that the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation had received the document and that it appeared to be a charter. Hence the Jakarta daily *Het Dagblad* announced in an extra on 28 July, 1949:

> Mysterious message on a silver sheet ... the contents [of a small packet] appeared to be a sheet of silver on which an age-old script is engraved. Once it was deciphered it appeared to be a request to cremate the mortal remains of Jayaprana and his wife ...

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527 A serious search for the charter finally produced the result that,
769 according to the declaration of the finder, it had been lost during
203 a shower of rain. But the story was not to be stopped. The temple priest of Pura Bĕsakih came personally to convince himself of the nature of the new charter, but when it proved to be unfindable he declared that he would have nothing to do with the festival: without the charter it was not genuine. Apparently this man felt that other tendencies might be involved, tendencies which had more to do with politics than with religion.

527 However, this sort of publicity was not to be scoffed at. Any
769 doubt of its 'truth' was fanatically interpreted as a rejection of the
203 Balinese religion. One had to believe, or one experienced the
829 discipline of Jayaprana. Hence it took only the slightest mishap to set the Chinese in action as well. They went to Kaliangĕt in vast numbers to pay homage and make offerings. The Chinese settlements at Kintamani and Kĕmbang Sari, both in Bangli, went almost in a body, out of fear that if they did not they would not be tolerated in the area of the Hindu *desas*. The Chinese, in fact, contributed not a little to the material success of the festival. The Moslem groups from the neighbourhood also took part.

There was, indeed, a fanatical element in the publicity. Not only a group of fairly purposeful youths, but also the simple, believing *desa* people grew vehement whenever doubts of the stories were expressed, and everyone who had visited Kaliangĕt was obliged to adjure the remaining *desa* folk to go there also. Besides that there was a whole arsenal of stories about the curse striking unbelievers and the blessings for those who believed.

The more educated Balinese remained conspicuously silent. They voiced no opinion of their own, but told such stories as the one that a member of the reputedly rather self-confident *gusti* family of Pĕtĕmon had said to a *pĕdanda* that whoever believed this nonsense was a lunatic.

Threats and promises played a large rôle in the publicity. But once a visitor arrived at the festival there was no further need for threats, since he was immediately overcome by the prevailing atmosphere. There it was *ramai*,[19] and for that reason alone it

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was good to be associated with it. The bustle led to more and more bustle.

From *ramai* it became *suchi* – pure, holy. For certain proceedings at a cremation one must be pure.[20] But in this case the whole multitude lived in something close to a state of trance for many days. Whoever had once been there could not tear himself away, or if he did he wanted to return. One could meet people who maintained that they had lost their 'soul', that it had stayed behind in Kaliangĕt. Many professional people left their work for days at a stretch to go there. The thoughts of the whole populace were for some time dominated by Kaliangĕt. No wonder that the *pĕmangku* of Pura Bĕsakih feared competition.

As a consequence the people not only believed that certain miracles took place, but interpreted the whole thing as one great 'miracle'. They compared the festival with a busy Balinese *pasar:* in Kaliangĕt there were no quarrels, no traces of theft. There were no dogs, even. No silver bowls disappeared, though sometimes hundreds stood together unattended. If one took the wrong bowl by accident, one was certain to recover one's own. However thief-ridden the *desa* itself was, and however much thieves were attracted by the bustle, there was nothing stolen. Jayaprana punished those who came with evil intentions.

The *suchi* atmosphere enveloped everyone. Towards the end those who directed the festival were going for days and nights without sleeping and hardly eating, living in a sort of trance state. They did nothing but receive visitors and lead the worship. And there was a firm conviction that Jayaprana would take care of everything. The festival, in fact, cost the *desa* not a single doit. Meals were provided each day for thousands of visitors, and each day the countless offerings required for the cremation were made, but there was never a scarcity. On the day of the cremation more than ten thousand visitors were given a meal.

People felt at home there and could not tear themselves away. When once the festival had got under way there was no holding it. New elements were constantly added to the ceremonies. As a

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527 769 result, the cremation, which had been scheduled at nightfall, did not take place until two o'clock the following morning. And after the cremation had ended people were sure that the festival would later reach another such high point.

The atmosphere was symbolized by the white headband which [822] everyone wore.[21] It was also defined by the fact that everything on the festival grounds was white. White plays an important part in Balinese tales, and is met with everywhere that there is talk of death and heaven. Here, white suggested *kĕsuchian*, purity.[22]

[755] Further, many miracles were wrought. People sought and found healing in the pilgrimage. The old became as young again. For instance, an old man came who was so aged that it was hard to believe he was still able to move by himself. Nonetheless he had come all the way from southern Bali, tramping for two days, and after he had refreshed himself he set out with rapid strides on his return journey.

Or another example: someone in his house at Gitgit, on the northern mountain slopes, dreamed that he climbed to the ridge of the mountain and on the other side saw a spout of water issuing from a northwesterly direction. A *pĕmangku* standing there said that the drinking water there was especially good. Waking up, the man set out to the northwest – to Kaliangĕt – and there met the *pĕmangku* of his dreams.

Food was always plentiful, thanks to the care of Jayaprana. There was a kettle which only needed to be filled with water to furnish an excellent soup. The animals were all tame and obedient. Everybody agreed that no such festival had ever been celebrated within the memory of man.

HOMAGE

527 769 782 The specific technical term for the ceremonial procession on the night before a cremation is *mĕdeheng*. Members of the family take part in it, attiring themselves as splendidly as possible. The ceremony fell on 11 August. On this occasion it was the aim to pay homage to Jayaprana. A great number of villagers took part in the procession.

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Many hours passed before the procession was arranged. Two *pĕdandas* officiated alternately. All holy objects, offerings, and the like which are mentioned by Wirz as belonging in the *bale bandung* were present.[23] Striking, however, was the absence of both the *dawang-dawang* – large paper dummies on stilts – and the long trains. The clown, on the other hand, was there. Probably an element of Japanese origin was the appearance of 'supporters' who were constantly occupied urging the public to cheer and clap their hands.

All the objects carried in the procession were silvered or whitened, even to the animal-shaped coffin to be used in the cremation. The procession was so arranged that a certain series of co-related offerings was carried by a group of young girls, women, or men, carefully drawn up according to their height, with the smallest in front. Moreover, each of these groups had its own colour of clothing – none of them white. In all there were some two hundred offering-bearers, male and female. Then followed the seven-roofed funeral tower, preceded by a wild group of men who held the hundreds-of-yards-long rope with which the tower was, as it were, hauled along. The procession went first to the south, then to the east, and after that northwards and westwards – thus in the opposite direction to that the pilgrimage had taken.

CREMATION

The cremation took place on the seashore, where there is a *pura sĕgara*, a sea temple. The impurity of the coast is there clearly emphasized by the presence of a leper colony to the west of the *pura*.

The whole morning long the guests were entertained to a meal. This day brought several surprises: the *dewa agung* of Klungkung appeared in order to take part in the festival, as did also the rajah of Jĕmbrana. A remark by the *balian* of Bakung to the effect that Jayaprana's family was of the *puri* of Klungkung had apparently been conveyed to the highest ruler on Bali, and he now appeared in person in order to honour his renowned relative. What the immediate consequence of this appearance was is discussed below.

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527 During the journey to the sea the *dewa agung* took his place on the
764 lotus-seat which was borne along in the procession.

769 The departure from the *desa* was held up because the *mĕkĕlé* made no move to start. When it was ventured to ask her why she did not set out, she said that the *dewa agung* was now in command. That personage gave permission for the departure and the procession left, arriving at the shore towards nightfall. There everything was arranged in minute detail. It was not until after midnight that the animal-shaped coffin went up in the flames, to be followed by the seven-roofed tower, the stairs, and so forth.

Then, however, a second cremation took place. Those in attendance went back to the *desa*, where, through a *pĕdanda*, Jayaprana was conjured up anew and was housed in an *adĕgan*, which was then transported to the seashore on the lotus-seat and there cremated. So it fell to the lot of Jayaprana, who had first without any explanation been elevated to caste membership, to be completely liberated as a *pĕdanda*. From that moment onward no one was allowed to use the name Jayaprana; thenceforth he was called Ida Batara Sakti Wau Rauh, 'The Potent Lord Recently Arrived'.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

527 The people then celebrated the usual after-festivals, nocturnal gatherings, and so forth. Each night for some time afterwards there was *gamĕlan* music and dancing. It was now a matter of the veneration of a *batara*. A notice board with the *batara*'s name was placed along the wayside. Gifts were constantly being received from people who realized with a start that they had been remiss in this respect. The *desa* projected great plans for building a temple. There was money enough. Half of the cockpit was partitioned off, well bolted, and labelled *kamar suchi*, 'holy room', which came to mean something like 'treasury'. There baskets full of silver coins were kept.

The notice on the roadside, however, was taken away after a short time. The interest in the festival cooled as people began to realize that to identify Jayaprana with Pĕdanda Wau Rauh was a very risky undertaking, and possibly also as the political side of

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the matter became clear. Some people, in fact, forecast the extinction of the fervour on other grounds.

3

The Metamorphosis of Jayaprana

No one has disputed Kaliangĕt's proprietary rights to Jayaprana. During the festival, however, the hero underwent a rapid metamorphosis. How the festival gave rise to this metamorphosis is as yet not at all clear. Some of these points, and the consequences of the metamorphosis, may be discussed here.

The most astounding event was the revelation as Wau Rauh. Pĕdanda Nirartha or Wau Rauh, 'The Recently Arrived', is a well-known figure on Bali. He may be considered the embodiment of the influence of Majapahit.[24] His name is traditionally connected with Pulaki,[25] and the thought of identification will no doubt have arisen because Jayaprana tarried in the Pulaki area. The more so, as for the *desa* people (and not only those who are readers of *lontars*) both Wau Rauh and Pulaki would seem to be living traditions. Especially since the First World War, Pulaki, so it is said, has repeatedly attested to his existence, quite independently of the Jayaprana tradition. For this reason a number of themes which are in circulation are not to be found in the *lontars*. There is also the statement of the *balian* of Bakung mentioned earlier.

The Jayaprana tale also had possibilities for a quite different development which found its expression in Kaliangĕt. Here was a loyal subject who was treacherously murdered by his prince, moreover out of jealousy, and after he had rendered faithful service.[26] The names of the hero and his wife are very fitting: Jayaprana can be rendered as 'The Victorious Soul' and Layon Sari as 'The Holy Dead One'.

At a time when the memory of the slain and missing *pĕmudas* was still very much alive, when caring for the bodies of those who fell in the resistance struggle was not without danger, and when it had already penetrated deeply into the popular consciousness that

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538 the revolution must be directed not only against foreign domi-
769 nation, but also against feudalism, it was easy to find in stories of this purport an element from which nationalism could borrow its weapons and the means to glorify itself.

All the more comic, then, was the *dénouement* when the *dewa agung* conferred his sanction on the whole matter by claiming Jayaprana for himself, as it were. Many a person in northern Bali who had watched with some apprehension the development of Jayaprana into the symbol for those who had fallen in the resistance gave their blessing to the *dewa agung*'s unannounced appearance.

Naturally this interpretation of the figure of Jayaprana by the *dewa agung* brought no unity among the diverse opinions. The fact must be accepted that one's view of Jayaprana is determined by the place that one occupies in Balinese society. Hence different opinions can exist independently of one another.

What, for example, did the *pĕdandas* think when they discovered that the *desa* people were making preparations to cremate their own highly revered forefather, the great and first *pĕdanda* of Bali? The president of the recently established Paruman Para Pandita, or Association of Pĕdandas, had requested the members to consult with him before accepting an invitation from the *desa*. Yet four or five *pĕdandas* openly took part in the ceremonies. Thus there was nothing else for it but to declare that the Ida Batara Sakti Wau Rauh of Kaliangĕt is a different person from the *pĕdanda* Nirartha of Gelgel.

184 There is a group of Balinese who find this whole cult an expres-
769 sion of a religious form no longer appropriate in these times. They see in it above all the many features of the authentic village religion, which is still so powerful that every protest against it is nipped in the bud. The village mentality and the abundantly practised trance also trouble them. Moreover, the village scoffs at all data from literature and propagates its own findings of the moment with a fanatical belief, not knowing itself what the final result of it all will be.

There is another group, undoubtedly by far the largest one, whose members, without giving any further critical thought to

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the matter, accept willingly the worship of Jayaprana, thus acting as they would in regard to every village festival, at the same time feeling that this festival cycle answers completely a need which they have felt since the war. For instance, Jayaprana sanctioned the *joged* in its most rude, primitive form, a form which, however, corresponds excellently with the passions which the spirit of the resistance has awakened in the youth. Jayaprana brought about an enormous festival in which the atmosphere of any number of folk tales was made a reality. People shook off the disagreeable things of difficult modern times and felt completely at home, near to each other and near to the divine: the earth exceeded its bounds and became heaven. Jayaprana drew all divine power to himself, dominated all thought, and showed himself to be extremely jealous, but also blessed all who venerated him, helped the sick and the tradespeople, and spread his favour over the whole of Bali. It is no great cause for surprise when such a folk hero appears as a *batara*.

There is, however, also a group of people who have detected a new perspective and are developing it. The members of this group grew up during the Japanese occupation and the ensuing struggle for freedom against the Japanese, and later the Dutch, armies. As early as the Japanese period, however, they had more or less turned against their own traditional forms of government, and they say: 'Jayaprana, he is we ourselves. Formerly the ruler was worshipped, but now is the time for *kĕmĕrdekaan*, for freedom; the homage is now for the people.' Hence it was suggested that 17 August, the anniversary of the declaration of independence in 1945, could now be celebrated openly on Bali, thanks to Jayaprana. (Permission for celebration of the day happened to be given by the government of the federal state of East Indonesia precisely during the festival at Kaliangĕt.) For this group the festival was the festival of national heroes.

This is not to say that this religious nationalism is already moving in a definite direction. Traditional beliefs have changed into the most modern pagandom, at least within a certain group, but it is by no means fixed. It will still be able to be exploited as much by

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a rajah as by a Communist leader, provided use is made of a knowledge of present-day psychological conditions. As early as during the war the young men learnt how to use the trance for their own struggle and 'besought' *pĕdandas* to bless their arms.

It should not be forgotten, however, that the history of Jayaprana was agreed upon in the most incalculable manner by means of trances in the old-fashioned style. Pronouncements were accepted unconditionally, the more so because the persons in trance were strangers who could not be suspected, even when they were not in a trance, of riding particular hobby-horses. Kaliangĕt threw itself with complete abandon into the adventure.[27]

Great influence must be attributed to the *mĕkĕle*. This woman, at the outset unknown in Kaliangĕt, became the principal personage. She did not take part in the usual trance form; she was, however, continually in a state of mild trance. Her word was law and her authority held everywhere. When she felt that Jayaprana was fatigued by all the worship, devotions in the chapel were suspended and the *gamĕlan* was obliged to be silent. When water was drawn from the spring and it appeared that she had not come along, the procession stopped and returned first to fetch her.

During the peak periods she was constantly to be found in the corpse chapel, where she blessed the offerings and the praying crowds. People quickly ascribed curative powers to her, and later she was always included in any number of ceremonies. Even after the festival people went to her house to visit her with requests for medicines and help.

The remarkable thing is that the *mĕkĕle* herself, even during the festival, continued to feel uncertain inwardly, and that she expressed criticism of the fact that the visitors spent thousands of guilders on offerings which would be spoilt by the time they returned home with them after their journey:

> The gods cannot approve of this; in the first place many people are going hungry, and in the second, it often smells already when it is offered to the gods. There are many people who incur debts in order to come here, and that should not be allowed.

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4

The Historicity of the Tradition

Neither the supernatural features in the Jayaprana ballad nor the fact that the subject is a general theme in many stories known to us proves that the whole of the ballad is based upon fantasy. It will, however, probably never be possible to authenticate the underlying historicity of the facts related in it. Both Kaliangĕt and Banjar are mentioned in the ballad, and such a drama of the murder of a faithful servant can have been enacted there, as it can anywhere else.

Interesting, however, is the endeavour on different sides to seek evidence in the modern sense, and the marked need of such evidence which that endeavour demonstrates.

Some of the items serving as evidence may be listed here. It was said that the names were of course symbolic ones, only given after death to people whose proper names were no longer known. There were no true descendants of Jayaprana, though the *desa* elder took the family to be his own. But stories were concentrated on the descendants of the *anak agung* and of the *patih* who had Jayaprana's death on their consciences.

It was said that the family of the *patih* would have liked to take part in the cremation, but that the *desa* had refused to consider the possibility; that the funds offered by the family disappeared without a trace; and that the car in which the family came had met with an accident on the journey home.

The family of the *anak agung* also put in an appearance in the rumours. This family has come down in the world, and now lives in Sukawati in southern Bali. There, too, there were stories of punishment by Jayaprana, but the family proved to be unfindable.

Furthermore, it was said that the name of Pura Prabu indicates that once there must have been a *puri* in Kaliangĕt, that Pura Jaran Guyang was founded on the spot where the *anak agung*'s horse fell in the mud, and that a learned gentleman called 'Stein' had discovered the foundations of the old palace in the bed of the

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river (and had immediately taken them along with him).[38] The charter story also did yeoman service as historical evidence.

5

Parallel Movements

A certain amount of comparative material is to be found in Bateson's article "An Old Temple and a New Myth", and more is provided by three movements in northern Bali about which, so far as I know, nothing has been written.

Bateson describes the ceremonial contact between the villages of Bayung Gĕde and Katung. A *pĕmangku* in a trance discovered that a goddess in Bayung is the mother of a god in Katung. Hence a procession was organized, so that the son might visit his mother. During the visit both the *pĕmangku* and the female *balian* fell in a state of trance. In their utterances in the trance the mythical relation between the divinities was revealed, and this led the community to repair an old, abandoned temple, Pura Chĕkandik. Later there was a special ceremony in the temple at Bayung to ask questions of the gods regarding Pura Chĕkandik. During the ceremony the *balian* again fell in a trance and, using two methods of prophecy, described the plan of the temple and set the date for its anniversary festival or *odalan*.[39]

Reports from northern Bali also point towards the existence of several more or less parallel movements which do not fall under the category of generally occurring phenomena of *desa* religion. About 1924 there is reported to have been a huge religious movement in Kubutambahan, in northern Bali. There an enormous fish was washed up, the like of which had never been seen. As a consequence a worship movement came into being. According to reports it was believed that the fish brought a special message from a *batara* who was approachable through a trance. No disbelief was tolerated, for the fish was itself a *batara*. In the course of time the movement subsided noiselessly.

Not long after the capitulation of Japan and the return of Dutch power on Bali a deer came running into the village of Bubunan.

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By means of trance the revolutionary youths, the *pĕmudas*, succeeded in convincing the villagers that the deer was a messenger from Pulaki. The animal was shut up in a shed and served to communicate the wishes of the *pĕmudas* to the *desa* and the neighbourhood. A large-scale movement of nationalism-tinged-with-worship came into being, putting the demand of an absolute surrender to the *batara* and hostility towards those who did not believe. In the course of time, however, the people were left with the deer on their hands; it was released, and the movement dwindled away.

On 28 April, 1946, an anti-resistance movement was formed in Sangsit under the auspices of the Dutch army. It was thought that it would be a step in the right direction for the *desa* itself to offer resistance to the terrorist movement. A certain Nĕngah Meder, who for one reason or another was in the bad graces of the *pĕmudas*, organized a *desa* guard and sought help from the Dutch army. But he clothed his movement entirely in religious garb, giving himself out as a *pĕndita* and frequently going into a trance, and in this way was able to convince the people for miles around of his sanctity. He taught that the gods of Gunung Agung had concentrated at Sangsit. As a result whosoever believed became invulnerable. His followers wore a white band on their heads, and there was a special greeting. The movement came to an end when Meder, with a part of his family, was murdered by the *pĕmudas*.

A characteristic of these movements is that each of them found a large following, that different phenomena were explained by the trance, and that an unconditional surrender to the new situation was demanded, but on the other hand that there was nevertheless in each case an endeavour to incorporate the whole fabric of beliefs of the *desa* in the new faith. After the war there arose a distinct tendency to link nationalism to religion. Another characteristic is that after a time each movement came to a total dead-end.

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6

Final Remarks

527 Though the festival of Jayaprana united the whole of Bali, it is nevertheless clear that in it there were quite divergent tendencies at work, tendencies which indicate that Balinese society is in a period of transition. The Balinese element, however, is absolutely dominant. On all sorts of occasions it becomes apparent that whenever the traditional, unalloyed Balinese ceremonies, festivals, and (above all) convivial gatherings are held, the more modern minds also revel heart and soul in that world for a moment. To separate the old world and the new would be to give a wrong impression of the situation. Besides, many signs indicate that the old world no longer lives on undisturbed.

This is most forcibly the case as regards the nationalistic interpretation. The people have gradually slipped from the old ways into a more modern state of mind and conception of the true function of religion. Therefore the decisive factor in this respect will be: who will ultimately be able to guide the Balinese youth in nationalistic and religious matters?

All kinds of outside influences can be detected, influences which have already penetrated far into the *desa* sphere. Even before the war many Balinese had delved deeply into modern Western literature and learning, and the knowledge they thus acquired is now finding its echo in the *desa*. It is difficult to substantiate, but it is certainly not unthinkable that the worship in a kind of chapel, the concentration of the whole divine world in Jayaprana, the demand for surrender and faith, and the conception of Jayaprana as a saviour, are themselves elements strongly under the influence of Islam and Christianity.

The identification with Wau Rauh seems somewhat too 'licentious' to be able to live long. Possibly a festival on a much smaller scale will be held annually to the memory of the new *batara;* meanwhile the popular ballad, the new god, and the true Pĕdanda Wau Rauh will continue their existence as if nothing had happened.

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Postscript

Something more can be reported regarding the new *batara* on 538
the basis of a booklet entitled *Riwajat Djajaprana*,[30] which went into a second edition as soon as in 1954. This booklet contains the Balinese poem, together with a translation in Indonesian. The author, I Kĕtut Puthra, has preceded the poem by three introductory pieces. The first of these is a verse in which Jayaprana is glorified as "a son of Indonesia, a noble hero, ... symbolic of the State for all *pĕmudas*". In the second Jayaprana is compared to such favorite traditional wayang figures as Rama and the five Pandawas, who came to earth to combat the forces of evil. In the same way Jayaprana was sent by Sang Hyang Widiwasa to bring about the fall of the evil dynasty of Kaliangĕt (in the poem the death of the hero gives rise to the amok-running and suicide of the ruler, and thus to the fall of the *puri*). The third piece is a moralistic one: behold the man's sincerity and loyalty, the woman's marital fidelity amidst many enticements, and (an anti-feudal touch) the ruler's baseness. The booklet confirms once more the fact that in the case of Jayaprana "highly divergent tendencies were at work".

The poem and its translation are followed by a description of the cremation festival in 1949. And in closing the author reports that a temple has been founded for the new pair of deities, where Jayaprana and Layon Sari are worshipped as Batara Jayakusuma and Batara Pulasari. The temple's anniversary or *odalan* falls on Thursday-Paing of the week of Pĕrangbakat, and on 26 October, 1950, was celebrated for the first time, on an elaborate scale. Two offering columns in front of the *bataras*' three-roofed *meru* are consecrated to the base-hearted ruler who ordered the murder and to the villain who performed it; in a sort of poetic justice both of them must now serve "as special guardians of the two deified dead".

J.L.S.

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Appendix

The Procession

527 788 The moment for the procession to be arranged was announced by the beating of the *kulkul*, the wooden signal block. It took a good three-quarters of an hour before people had succeeded in drawing up the procession in the right order.

First came a man who carried a *payong*, a parasol. Next a *gamèlan gong*, the instruments of which were carried on poles with the musicians walking besides their instruments. (Usually the *gamèlan* which accompanies a procession is of a very simple composition, and that was also the case here. Only a few instruments marked the melody, while most of the musicians played a kind of *chengcheng*, two copper cymbals. One or two large gongs provided a firm background to the tinny noise with their deep, sombre tone.)

The clown, who cut all kinds of capers with a carrying-pole laden with durian fruit.

Two groups of twelve female offering-bearers in *kèbayas* and matching sarongs, the smallest in each group walking in front, followed by the next smallest, and so forth.

Six men with a palanquin on which there were three offerings.

Two lance bearers.

A bearer with a white banner.

Eleven bearers of *rèrontek*, short bamboo staves.

Three pikemen.

Next came the contents of the *bale bandung:*

Two bearers with *payongs*.

Two bearers with a bird of paradise.

Fifteen bearers with diverse offerings, the effigies, the heap of *kains*, the creese, and so forth.

Eight bearers, two with spears and six with *payongs*.

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Eight women with various objects: a piece of wood, a glass tank- 527
ard, a silver lion, a brass tray with the requisites for making betel, 788
effigies.

Twelve boys, ranging from short to tall, magnificently clad, four of them with creeses.

Four small boys in festive array.

Ten young girls, richly adorned with gold.

Ninety-four women and girls in festive dress.

Several hundred men for the white *bade*, which was carried with a great deal of noise.

A second *gamĕlan* brought up the procession. (This *gamĕlan* accompanying a procession also performs with other types of pageants, for example the carrying of the household gods to the bathing place, and so forth. The *gamĕlan gambang* is generally used at cremations in northern Bali, but I did not hear it at Kaliangĕt.)

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The Irrigation System in the Region of Jembrana

by

C. J. Grader

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The study "Het soebakwezen in het landschap Djembrana" (The *Subak* System in the Region of Jembrana), of which the following is an integral translation, was adapted by the author, C. J. Grader, from an unpublished *Nota van toelichting betreffende het in te stellen zelfbesturend landschap Djembrana*) (Explanatory Memorandum Regarding the Projected Autonomous Principality of Jembrana) which he had drafted in 1938, and was published, with the permission of the relevant authorities, in the *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk* (Communications of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation), vi (1939), 12-34.

[p. 266 contains no textural material]

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The Irrigation System in the Region of Jembrana

I

The Irrigation Association

An irrigation association, or *subak*, comprises a larger or smaller number of owners or holders of irrigable fields together forming one consolidated complex, and has the aim of promoting common irrigation interests. As a rule the *sawahs* lying within the territory of one *subak* obtain their irrigation water from one and the same main conduit, for which reason the *subak* is legally defined as a "group of *sawahs* which, being watered from the same conduit or the same branch of a conduit, forms an irrigation association"[1] – a description which a number of authors have accepted. There are various kinds of exceptions to this definition. One example is the *subak* of Kaliakah, whose westerly *sawahs* are dependent on the Daya River (in Negara) for their irrigation water, while the rest of the fields are irrigated from the Kaliakah. The two parts going to make up this *subak* actually have no common irrigation interests, but since each of them was too insignificant to function effectively by itself they united into one irrigation association so that their board could be given a broader task and mutual assistance for large-scale activities could be organized more satisfactorily. It is, incidentally, the custom that only those members of this *subak* who derive advantage from a measure have to bear the financial consequences for it. Several other cases approaching the circumstances in the *subak* of Kaliakah are mentioned in an unpublished monograph on landrent in Jembrana dating from 1932. In any number of cases *subaks* have common interests, which manifest themselves above all in collective ownership of weirs and conduits and in joint worship of temples.

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312 241 474 Expenses are usually apportioned according to the number of *sawah*-holders, or, as the term goes, every *pĕngalapan* pays the same amount. By *pĕngalapan* is meant the water inlet through which one *kĕsit* of *sawahs* is irrigated from the conduit. A *kĕsit* consists of a series of *sawah* plots lying one behind the other and belonging to the same person. If behind a *kĕsit* there is another belonging to someone else, the latter never receives the excess irrigation water from the *kĕsit* lying upstream, as is the case for the *sawahs* of one *kĕsit;* instead, a special branch conduit is constructed from the main conduit along the *sawah* dikes of the upstream *kĕsit* to the other *kĕsit*. The holders of the *sawah* plots beside this conduit, for whom the water is not intended, may not appropriate any water from it without running the risk of being punished by the *subak* for water theft.

The *subak* functionaries take care that the water inlet for each *kĕsit* admits exactly the right amount of water needed for proper irrigation. In this the *sawah*-holders give their full cooperation, aware that it is in their own interests, since an excessive amount of water is harmful to the crops. It is for this reason that farmers are to be seen in the *sawahs* during heavy rains, to prevent too much water from coming into the *kĕsit*. Mutual assistance in the form of exchanging labour is frequent between *subaks* or groups of *subaks*, often under the auspices of the regional and lower agricultural officials, the *sĕdahan agung* and *sĕdahan*.

2

The Subak Board

The head of the *subak* association is the *klihan subak*, who is appointed by the *sĕdahan* and the *sĕdahan agung*, though the feelings of the members of the *subak* are definitely taken into account. The *klihan* selects certain helpers, again more or less in accord with the preferences of the *subak*. They consist of an assistant *klihan*, and several *jurus arah*, or criers, and assistant *jurus arah*. The number of criers depends on the size of the *subak*, the lay of the land, the number of *subak* members, and the extent to which their dwellings

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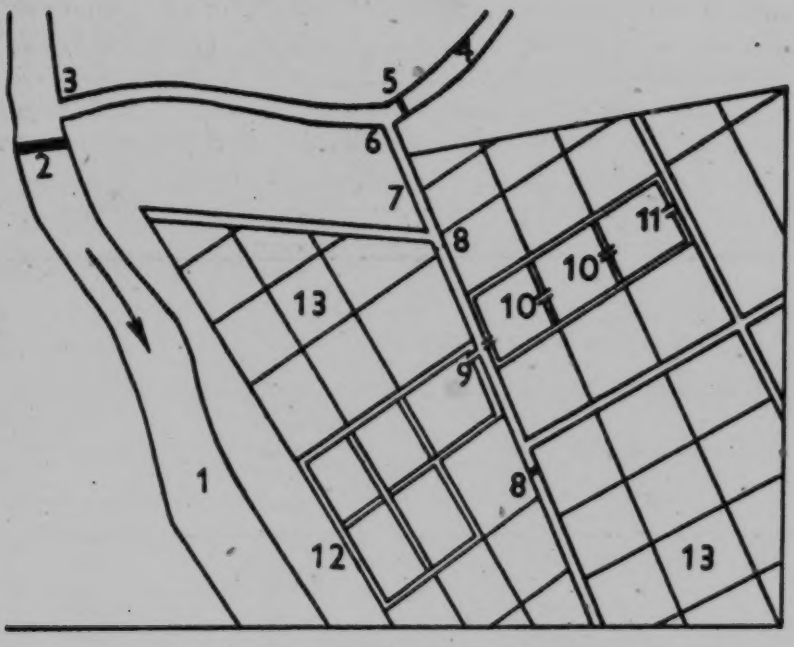

SYSTEM OF WATER DISTRIBUTION IN A SUBAK

1 River
2 Weir
3 *Subak* inlet
4 Conduit
5 Distribution block
6 Secundary inlet
7 Branch conduit
8 Secundary distribution block
9 *Kĕsit* inlet
10 Passage between *sawahs* within *kĕsit*
11 Overflow
12 *Sawah* dike
13 *Sawah* plot

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are scattered. A crier's jurisdiction is called *arahan*. A general term for a *subak* functionary is *pĕnyarikan subak*, that is to say a person who makes notes. Members of the *subak* board are exempted from *subak* services, but not from head levies. An ex-functionary is sometimes given exemption from services for one *kĕsit*, but only for a specified time, the length of the exemption depending on the degree to which he has been of aid to the *subak*.

In connection with religious life as it finds expression in the *subak* organization, reference must also be made to the *pĕmangkus*, the temple officiants. The normal course of affairs is that in each *subak* sanctuary care for the maintenance of the temple is given to a *pĕmangku* assisted by one or more helpers (depending on the extent of his duties) who are chosen from among the members of the *subak* and, like their superior, are exempted from *subak* services. As in the case of the other *subak* functionaries, the exemption does not extend to the levies in money or in kind. The *pĕmangku*, too, if he is a *sawah*-holder, has to pay his share of such levies. The *pĕmangku* has charge of the presenting of offerings, including the special offerings on *rĕrainan*.[1] He is qualified to ask the deity for holy water and to lead the offering ceremonial.

The *pĕmangkus* of the temples of Tilarnĕgari, Bakungan, Maospait, and Pĕgubugan receive a share of the harvest from each *subak* member participating in the religious ceremonies as a compensation for their services. This compensation, called *pĕlaba*, consists of one handful of unthreshed rice per *kĕsit*. The paddy set aside for religious purposes in this way is called *pantun sari n taun*, the spiritual share of the year's yield. Originally the *sari n taun* was converted into money and the proceeds used for the purification ritual performed whenever crops were molested by mice, worms, locusts, or other vermin. It also served to cover the costs of bringing in holy water and of *nĕduh*,[1] but when the government defrayal to the *pĕmangkus* was abolished in 1922, the *sari n taun* was made a substitute for it. As a reward for their services the *pĕmangkus* also have a right to the doits placed in the offerings.

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3

Subak Services and Levies

The *subak* obligations are divided into two groups, *pĕkaryan* and *pĕnyubaktian*, depending on whether they pertain to activities of a profane nature or to religious matters. Included in the *pĕkaryan* are services in connection with the construction, maintenance, and repair of weirs, water tunnels, open conduits, distribution blocks,[4] and *subak* roads. The *pĕnyubaktian* obligations have to do with worship in the various *subak* temples, the holding of offering festivals, and purification ceremonies.

Just as in the *banjar* the fiscal unit is the *paon*, the hearth, in the *subak* it is the *pĕngalapan*, the water inlet of a *kĕsit*. For each *kĕsit* the same amount of services needs to be rendered to the *subak* and the same share in the head levy needs to be paid. However, when a *kĕsit* is worked by more than one person, for example by the owner and his sharecroppers or by several heirs together, just as many persons should present themselves for *subak* services as are working on the *kĕsit*, since in this case the actual concept of a *kĕsit* as a complex of *sawah* plots held by one person has been broken with. Consequently that rule does not apply when the owner or holder of a *kĕsit* is helped by another person for wages or without compensation of any sort. The head levies, on the other hand, are on the ground, and are levied per *kĕsit*, regardless of what its area may be or how many people are working it.

It is not permitted for someone to perform *subak* services for more than one *kĕsit;* for violation of this rule a fine of twenty-five hundred doits is charged. A person who has a second *kĕsit* within the same crier's jurisdiction must perform *subak* services for one *kĕsit*, while for the other a relatively small money reimbursement called *ngampĕl* is due for the irrigation water. If the *kĕsits* are in two different crier's jurisdictions, a larger reimbursement known as *pĕnumbas toya* is required. The higher rate also applies when someone has more than two *kĕsits:* for the third and following *kĕsits pĕnumbas toya* always has to be paid. For both the cheaper

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312 and the higher rate of commutation for water there are maxi-
241 mums: for *ngampĕl* an amount equal to half of the landrent is
474 prescribed, and for *pĕnumbas toya* twenty guilders. If someone takes on a sharecropper in mid-season this is called 'evading services'.[1] The fine is five thousand doits, plus compensation for the *subak* services not performed. Subject to the approval of the *klihan subak* or the crier, a substitute can be appointed for *subak* services, the *kĕsit*-holder remaining responsible. Especially officials and *pĕdandas* make use of this possibility. The *sawah*-holder is also responsible for violations of regulations by a sharecropper; on the other hand a sharecropper who has already performed *subak* services can no longer be discharged. *Subak* services cannot be transferred to a minor.

According to popular belief the Dutch authorities also have the right to claim services from members of the *subak*. In the present day this principle is no longer applied except in celebrating national holidays and during visits of the governor general. In cooperation with the *desa* the *subaks* help to put up decorations, erect festival structures, and spray the roads. *Subak* members must also turn out to form guards of honour and can be required to provide levies in the form of materials and money to be used to defray travelling expenses for persons who have to pass the night away from home while performing services. Obligations to the authorities are grouped together under the term *karya pĕngĕdalĕm*.

4
Religious Obligations

THE SUBAK SANCTUARIES

474 There are three categories of *subak* sanctuaries: the *pura pĕnyung-*
312 *sungan subak*, the *pura ulun charik*, and the *chatu*.
778

Under the term *pura pĕnyungsungan subak* fall the sanctuaries which were originally *desa* temples that one or more *subaks* helped to worship, after which in the course of time all the expenses connected with the temple services and offering ceremonials have gradually fallen to the *subak* or *subaks*, though others may con-

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tinue to participate in its services, either as a *desa* or as individuals. Examples of *puras* of this sort are the temples of Tilarnĕgari, Bakungan, Pĕgubugan, Maospait, and Pankung-panĕs. In Pura Tilarnĕgari only a small number of persons take part in services outside the *subak* context; Pura Maospait, on the other hand, enjoys the interest of the whole region, or at least of the heartland of Jĕmbrana, whose eastern limit is Yeh Ĕmbang. Participation in services by individuals may be the result of a pronouncement by a *balian*, or may be based on tradition.

The *puras ulun charik* were founded by one or more *subaks*, and, apart from a few exceptions which do not detract from the principle, are exclusively their object of worship. The *ulun charik* is frequently at the head end (*ulu*) of the ricefields (*charik*), and serves as a seat for Batara Sri, the rice goddess. Except in the case of the *subaks* Yeh Anakan and Tĕgaljati, each of which has both a *pura ulun charik* and a *pura pĕnyungsungan subak*, all the *puras ulun charik* are worshipped by more than one *subak*. There are no temples serving for all the *subaks* of the region or even for those of a whole district, though of course at certain times everyone joins together with the rest of Bali in addressing himself to Pura Bĕsakih, and at such times holy water for the *subaks* of the whole region is requested in a few prominent temples. The initiative for such a ceremony emanates from the *pĕruman kĕrtanĕgara*, the council of ruling princes, while implementation within the region is carried out by the head of the region *via* the chief agricultural official.

Chatu is the term for the offering columns or altars erected in every *subak* nearby waterworks of great importance for the water supply, in honour of the patron deity to whom the works are dedicated. Particularly beside the weir they are seldom lacking. Many a *chatu* has developed into a temple, as a result either of an increase in the number of *subak* members or of the fact that a certain weir has become important for more than one *subak*. In that case the number of altars is frequently enlarged, but the intrinsic difference in construction between a *chatu* and a *pura* is that only the latter is surrounded by a wall or a paling. In case a

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474 number of *subaks* worship at one *pura ulun charik* in common, each
312 of the separate *subaks* also has a branch temple in the form of a
778 *chatu* which serves as a temporary residence for the deity of the *ulun charik* when it is summoned to appear there on appropriate occasions.

TIMES OF WORSHIP

782 For all the temples and other places of worship there are certain
312 times when religious ceremonies are held, either periodically or
474 as occasion demands. The periodical ceremonies are divided into *ngĕrainin* and *ngĕbĕkin* or *ngusaba*.

Ngĕrainin consists of making a flower offering in the *puras ulun charik* and *pĕnyungsungan subak;* it takes place on certain favourable days (*rĕrainan*) such as full moon, new moon, Wednesday-Klion, Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion), and the like, and is performed by the *pĕmangku* without the members of the *subak* being present. No *ngĕrainin* takes place at the *chatus*, which, since they are not *puras*, do not have *pĕmangkus*.

241 The harvest festival is celebrated in the last stage of the ripening
782 of the rice, in alternate years as *ngĕbĕkin* and as *ngusaba*. New moon is considered a favourable time for *ngĕbĕkin*, while *ngusaba* takes place at full moon. The former ceremony has the character of an offering to the demons; the latter, primarily a festival of thanksgiving to the deity, is more elaborate than *ngĕbĕkin* and is often accompanied by the placing of festive poles of bamboo (*penjor*) at each *kĕsit*. The *puras pĕnyungsungan subak* follow a pattern similar to that of the *puras ulun charik*. There, too, *ngĕbĕkin* and *ngusaba* alternate every other year or every two hundred ten days, depending on whether the Hindu-Balinese or the Javanese-Balinese calendar is followed, with the festival being held on the anniversary (*odalan*) of the temple. *Ngĕbĕkin* is the 'little' festival; the *ngusaba* of the *pura pĕnyungsungan subak* is also called *odalan*. The weir *puras* usually have their *odalan* on Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion) in the week of Kurantil; if there is not yet a *pura*, but only a *chatu*, then the ceremony taking place on this date is called *ngĕjot*. (*Pĕjotan* is also brought to the *chatus* whenever the deity

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must be informed that a project of any size has been begun or finished.) 244 782

The following ceremonial obligations are less closely related to the temple system. Before a beginning can be made with working the land, the patron deity of the irrigation water is received ritually, for which purpose the members of the *subak* go together to the weir, carrying the requisite offerings and attributes. Reception offerings and purification offerings are both given; if the weir has not yet been cemented, but consists of boulders, rice and pastry packed in leaves are buried between the stones. 312 782 [783]

In times of drought supplications for rain (*nědug*) are made in all *subak* sanctuaries, and also elsewhere, for example at the sea temples. Until the rains come the guardians of the temples make offerings every Kajĕng (the first day of the three-day week). In cases of serious drought the ceremonial is led by a *pĕdanda*. Purification offerings for the crop are made periodically by individuals; in case of plant diseases or pestilences the *subak* organizes a purification festival. 241 782

Before a beginning can be made with the rice harvest, a rice mother (*nini*) is constructed on a suitable day, for which a Monday is frequently chosen. The *nini* which consists of a handful of unthreshed rice of a particular sort, serves as a temporary residence for Batara Sri; another handful of rice functions as the *nini*'s seat. The *nini* is placed on an offering platform of bamboo in the middle of the ricefield, and is presented a fragrant offering, *chanang wangi*. Harvesting may not begin until two days later. Then offerings are made to the *nini* and it is informed of the intention to begin cutting the rice. When the harvest has been taken home the *nini* is installed in the riceshed. The *nini* may not be eaten, but must decay of itself.

Once all a person's fields have been harvested and the paddy is in the shed, the ceremony of *mantĕnin* is held, for which the rice granaries are adorned with young coconut leaves plaited and clipped into decorations, plus festive poles, pennons, and cloth. Under no circumstances may rice from the new crop be used or sold before the *mantĕnin*. A person who is short of rice does not resort

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241 782 to the new crop, but buys or borrows enough to meet his needs until after the *mantĕnin*.

5

Subak Regulations

312 474 *Subak* regulations are divided into *sima* and *awig-awig*, depending on whether they are considered as having emanated from the former royal administration or were drawn up within the *subak* itself. The *awig-awig* consist of customary law handed down by word of mouth, and have been recorded only sporadically, under the influence of agricultural officials and local headmen. Copies of the *sima*, on the other hand, are held by the regional and lower agricultural officials and now and then by a literate *klihan subak*. Used as a *sima* is a work attributed to the ruler of Buleleng which begins with the following words:

> Regulation of Gusti Gĕde Ngurah, who resides and rules at Buleleng. This edict applies to all subjects to the east of Ponjok Batu as far as Pĕtĕmon and the adjoining mountainland, and applies alike to Brahmins, *ksatriyas*, *wesyas*, and *sudras*, to all who must pay taxes on irrigable fields and levies on coconut groves and dry fields as these are levied by the agricultural officials in the aforementioned territory.

The text now in circulation in Jĕmbrana was imported from Buleleng, and gives the impression of being a codification from various sources, as is indicated by the repetition in the treatment of one and the same subject. In one of the last articles there is a dubious dating "Anggara-Klion, Wara Tambir, i Çāka 1805" (thus 1883 of the Christian era). The codex prescribes regulations on the payment of taxes, selling and pawning, pasturing cattle, and taking in stray cattle. Fines incurred for the stealing of water, seedlings, or rice and for destroying plantings or waterworks are also listed. At the same time mention is made of the measures which should be taken in case carelessness in burning off a field leads to damages for third parties, and the methods to be used in appointing *subak* functionaries and regulating local irrigation.

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An important point is that the *sima* places a sanction on violation of the *awig-awig*. The latter regulations, which have arisen in the bosom of the *subak* itself, have to do with *subak* services and levies; they list the penalties for disregarding the generally held views on the periodicity of agricultural activities, the maintenance of which is of importance for proper irrigation rotation and effective combating of crop diseases and pestilences. Violations of *subak* regulations are reported to the *klihan subak*, who considers them and pronounces penalties at the next *subak* meeting. In the great majority of cases the disciplinary measures of the *subak* appear to be efficient enough, and the agricultural officials need be called upon to intervene only rarely. In extreme cases a dispute may be placed before the Court of Kěrta.

The violations that occur most frequently, and the fines placed on them, are as follows. For coming to a work project late there is a fine of fifty doits; if one does not appear at all, without reason and without excusing oneself beforehand, the maximum fine is twenty-five hundred doits. When someone comes to work without the materials he is required to provide, he is penalized with a fine of two hundred fifty doits; if what he has brought is found to be insufficient or of unsatisfactory quality the fine is a hundred fifty. There is a fine of twenty-five hundred doits for stealing water.

When the period set for the payment of a fine is exceeded, the fine is doubled, and in case someone repeatedly avoids paying a fine that he has incurred, a special mark, or *sawen*, is placed on his *sawah*. In Jěmbrana the *sawen* serves only as a confirmation that official notice has been given for payment to be made within ten days, and not, as is elsewhere the case, as an indication that the *sawah*-holder has no right to work in the fields or receive irrigation water before his debt has been redeemed. The *sawen* is not removed until a supplementary fine of two hundred fifty doits has been paid. If even the placing of a *sawen* does not lead to the desired result, resort is taken to the *gade galur* procedure, in which the right to work the *sawah* in question is sold for one harvest to a third party for the amount of the fine due. The *sawah* may then be redeemed only after a full crop year; if it is not then redeemed,

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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312 a new period of a year is set automatically. The *gads galur* is also
474 frequently applied in cases of landrent arrears.

627 Systematic refusal to follow the orders of the *subak* board is punished very severely. The minimum fine for this violation is twenty guilders, to be paid before the harvest period. If a delinquent perseveres in his obstinacy, his crop can be confiscated, and he can be ejected from the *subak* association and placed on the black list in all *subaks*. No such drastic measure has ever proved necessary within human memory, however.

[695] Noteworthy is the custom that if someone is accused of having violated a regulation (for example of stealing water) and there is not sufficient evidence to prove the violation, the accused is required to take the oath of purification in one of the *subak* temples. This oath is also used when a violation is discovered without there being any indication as to who is guilty. The *sawah*-holders in the vicinity of the scene of the transgression are given a certain time to discover the guilty person, and if he remains unknown are also required to take such an oath.

6

Subak Funds

312 The funds of the subak are administered by the *klihan subak*, with
474 the agricultural official concerned having a check on their administration. The funds coming into the treasury consist of fines, water-service commutation fees, entrance fees, and incidental levies.

An entrance fee is due upon the foundation of new *subaks* or the extension of the area of a *subak* by converting dry fields into irrigable land, and amounts to a maximum of ten rixdollars per hectare, or some four rixdollars per acre. The funds belonging to the *subak* are used for building and maintaining irrigation works and for religious purposes. There is also a widespread custom to divide the proceeds from fines and commutation fees among members of the *subak* once a year.

Significant sums are sometimes brought together by means of levies. The monograph on landrent referred to above mentions

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the case of the *subak* of Yeh Ěmbang, where during the periods 312
1921–1928 and 1930–1931 the sums of *f* 28,335 and *f* 20,450 in 474
cash were spent on tunnel construction by no more than 134 persons, without counting the costs of the food and materials which according to custom had to be given to the tunnel-diggers during the work. Total expenditures for tunnel construction amounted to sixty thousand guilders; the *subak* area was two hundred thirty hectares, or some five hundred seventy-five acres.

7

Subak Meetings

The *subak* meets together regularly, on a set day of the Javanese-Balinese thirty-five-day month. Aside from these meetings there are others as the occasion demands. The latter sort of meeting is held, for example, during a work project, when the workers come together after the day's task has been completed in order to receive further instructions and to take decisions. The periodical meetings are held in the *pura ulun chawik* or one of the other sanctuaries of the *subak*. At them the organization of *subak* services and work projects to be undertaken are discussed; *subak* regulations are occasionally revised or new regulations are decided upon; planting dates and the proper times for coming religious ceremonies are announced; transgressors are penalized and orders of the authorities are made known. In special cases the monthly meetings may be attended by the regional agricultural official or other authorities.

8

Regulations Regarding Operation of the Sawahs

When the time has come to make a start with setting out seed- 312
lings, one of the members of the *subak* board is appointed as the 474
pacemaker, the *pĕngĕwiwit*, that is to say 'he who begins'. *Subaks* 627
under the guidance of the same *klihan* or located near to each other frequently appoint a joint pacemaker. The pacemaker has

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312 a right to assistance from the other members of the *subak*. Only
474 one *kĕsit* is planted, however, and before the work of planting it
627 has been finished and the ceremonial regulations have been met, nothing may be planted in the other *kĕsits*, not even in others belonging to the pacemaker. The transplanting is accompanied by certain ceremonials, the costs of which are borne by the members of the *subak*.

The next day, Nyĕpi, it is not permitted to work in the *sawahs*. Violation of the prohibition is punished with a maximum of twenty-five hundred doits. Then follows a period of twenty days within which every *subak* member must complete his planting. There is a fine of five thousand doits for planting before or after the official period, and the right to possible exemption from landrent in case of a bad crop is cancelled. Persons who have aided the transgressor in violating the regulation are punished with a fine of twenty-five hundred doits. The fixing of a period within which planting has to be done is of importance with an eye to proper water control, efficient division of labour, and measures in connection with combating plant diseases and pestilences. The appointment of a pacemaker has its utility from a disciplinary point of view and makes the date when planting can be begun generally known, while the association with traditional magical, religious convictions evinced by the offering ceremonial and Nyĕpi Day is also of value in this respect.

If for no good reason a *sawah* is not farmed, a fine of twenty-five hundred doits is due, while the landrent has to be paid in full. In case the transgressor is a sharecropper he also has to reimburse the landholder for the income lost. The *subak* does not like to see fields left unplanted: that serves not only to make it more vulnerable economically, but also undermines discipline, and *sawah* plots overgrown with weeds provide a welcome home for all kinds of vermin. There are no religious duties or prohibitions with a restricting effect on the course of agricultural affairs. Offerings and temple ceremonials do not demand an excessive amount of time and are frequently charged to groups of persons in rotation. The people have found a means of adjusting expenditures for religious

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purposes to the circumstances of the times in the system of celebrating festivals according to various levels of expense: *nista*, *madya*, and *utama*, that is to say poor, average, and good. 312 474 627

9

Harvesting and Planting Associations and the System of Mutual Assistance

The forms within which agricultural labour is made collectively available are legion. Forms in which groups of persons seek work for wages are to be found side by side with forms with the exclusive purpose of lending mutual assistance. Sometimes there is a formal association (*sĕka*) with officers, oral regulations, and a system of fines, acting in concert in its relations with third parties; sometimes the relationship is only one of an incidental nature. A few *sĕkas* which work for pay and deserve mention are the *sĕka mĕmula*, or association for transplanting seedlings; the *sĕka manyi*, or harvest association; and the *sĕka nĕpuk*, for binding paddy into sheaves. 241 474

The pulling out (*ngabut*) and transplanting (*mĕmula*) of the seedlings is done by men. The cutting (*manyi*) is done by women, but the binding of paddy into sheaves (*nĕpuk*), each consisting of a set number of handfuls, is again work for men, since manipulating the heavy weights and cutting off the excess rice straw requires a great deal of physical strength. The wages consist either of money or of food and money; for harvesting there is also payment in kind: for every twelve handfuls of rice one is the wage for cutting. At the moment of writing the customary money wage is twenty-five cents per day; when vegetables made into a sauce are provided for the rice which the members of the *sĕka* bring with them, the wage is twenty cents a day.

Sometimes such an association is formed primarily to lend mutual assistance to its members, and works for wages only for third parties. It sometimes also happens that a person without land of his own has joined a *sĕka*, in which case when it is his turn to have the labour of the association at his disposal he transfers the right to someone else for a reimbursement in money: this custom is to be found in the district of Jĕmbrana.

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241 476 Mutual assistance is customary in working the soil, sowing the nursery beds, transplanting the seedlings, weeding, cutting the rice, binding it into sheaves, and taking the harvest home. It is usual that food is supplied during the period that mutual assistance is given. Sometimes the same group of persons is involved in the *sĕlisihan*, the mutual-assistance group, for the various tasks, but usually not, since the number of persons necessary is not the same for each sort of work. In the district of Nĕgara all agricultural work is done by *sĕlisihans*.

Frequently there is a complicated system such as is followed for the harvest associations of women, where dozens of women are sometimes united in one *sĕlisihan* working according to a carefully drafted plan. A quite accurate estimate is made of how many cutters will be needed in the course of one single day to cut the rice of a member of the *sĕlisihan*. In this way it is possible to divide the cutters over the various *sawahs* each day in an efficient way. It is figured that a workday ends about one hour before sunset; if the cūtters on a certain *sawah* are through with their work much earlier, it is a sign that the estimate of the *sĕlisihan* was too high. The *sawah*-owner then receives a certain compensation in money for the excess food he has given. It is quite just that this indemnity should be given, the more so since the wife of the landholder has to give the same number of days of service as she has profited from.

When someone's crop is not completely harvested in one day he must hire a *sĕka* for the rest. The *sĕlisihan* is completely separate from the *subak* association, which serves only irrigation interests. Often the community unit, the *banjar*, serves as a basis for a *sĕlisihan;* in other cases relatives and acquaintances join together.

10

The Formation of New Subaks

447 312 474 Several new *subaks* have been created in recent times in the eastern part of the region of Jĕmbrana, where a beginning in clearing the forests was made only after the Dutch expeditions against southern Bali in 1906–1908. The landrent monograph referred

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to above reports that on 13 April, 1922, several members of the 467
desa of Pĕngyangan concluded an agreement with a tunnel-diggers' 312
association. The construction of tunnels stagnated owing to diffi- 474
culties in the lay of the land, and had not yet been completed at the end of 1931. At present the *subak* of Pĕngyangan has an area of more than forty hectares, or over a hundred acres, with exactly fifty landowners from whom a total of *f* 530 in landrent is due. Reportedly the following procedure was used in forming this *subak*. From the very beginning the *sĕdahan agung* and the *sĕdahan* concerned were involved in the matter, and they were constantly kept informed on the amount of yardage measured out by the tunnel-diggers. After the tunnel-diggers' association had reported which terrains might reasonably be expected to be irrigable, the owners of the gardens indicated joined together to form a *subak*.

Even more recent is the formation of the Sĕrangsang River *subak* (in the territory of the *desa* of Gumbrih), which is now twelve hectares or some thirty acres in size and numbers twenty-six landowners, while the landrent due amounts to *f* 110. The first *sawahs* date from around 1914; at that time seventeen persons joined together in a *subak* on the initiative of the village elder, who was later recognized by the Dutch authorities as *klihan*. Irrigation water was obtained by damming off the Sĕrangsang River, a ravine which is completely dry during the eastern monsoon. The water is carried to the *sawahs* through an open conduit *via* the coconut groves of Pulukan Plantation. Some difficulties are created by an irregularity in the lay of the land, which has made it necessary to construct an aqueduct. The conduit follows the crown of a dike, but the dike has not proved able to stand up against the pressure of the water.

II

Moslem Subak Members

Though there are no *subaks* in Jĕmbrana consisting entirely of 312
Moslems, there are associations here and there where their pro- 474
portion is fairly high. The *subak* of Yeh Anakan, in the vicinity of 563

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312 Moslem settlement of Banyubiru, has the largest proportion of
474 Moslem members, sixty per cent. of the total. The board of the
563 *subak* contains the following functionaries: a *klihan subak* (Bali Islam), an assistant *klihan* (Bali Hindu), three criers (Bali Hindu), and three assistant criers (Bali Islam). It is noteworthy that the number of Bali-Hindu members of the *subak* board is relatively large, and that the important functions of crier are all filled by Bali Hindus. According to a statement of the *klihan subak* this must be attributed to the circumstance that the maintenance of the *subak* sanctuaries rests completely on the Bali-Hindu membership contingent. The services and levies for secular ends are the same for both categories of *subak* members. Religious obligations are fulfilled by each group according to the requirements of its faith, though in case a Bali Hindu has a Moslem sharecropper a half share is expected to be provided for the Balinese ritual.

Before any important task is undertaken and also after the harvest (at Pulukan before the cutting is begun) the Moslems hold a sacred repast, a *sĕlamatan sĕdĕkahan*, with rice, *kĕtipat* (rice steamed in coconut leaves), rice porridge, and pastry, at the work site, and either a mosque official, a religious teacher, or someone else who is familiar with the ritual recites a special prayer. A ritual prayer for a good crop is also sometimes held in the mosque. In case of a crop disease the *tolak balak* ceremony, literally 'the averting of misfortune', is held. Then every member takes a plaited bamboo mat containing *kĕtipat* and pastry to the *sawah*, where a special prayer is recited over these gifts. In times of sickness and disaster it is, in fact, also the custom to repeat this ritual in the open fields near the *desa*, and the *tolak balak* is performed for the benefit of dry-field farming as well. This Bali-Islam ceremony has points of correspondence with the Bali-Hindu festival of purification.

There is also a ritual prayer for rain in periods of prolonged drought. This *sĕmbahyangan istika* (recited in the Javanese way) takes place in the mosque after the Friday service and not in the open air, though on the same occasion Moslem members of the *subak* hold a *sĕlamatan sĕdĕkahan* by the weir. In the mosque owners

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of dry fields and gardens take part in the ceremony along with the *sawah*-holders. The *sĕmbahyangan istika* is repeated every Friday until the rains come. It has happened several times that it was held at the request of the regional agricultural official to the *pĕnghulu*. (It should be mentioned that in earlier years the Pulukan agricultural official was a Moslem.) As a rule relations between the Bali-Hindu and Bali-Moslem members of the *subaks* leave nothing to be desired.

312 474 563.

12

Irrigation and Landrent Levies

Under the agricultural official, or *sĕdahan agung*, for the region of Jĕmbrana, who is also the acting head of the regional landrent office at Nĕgara and assistant collector of revenues, are four *sĕdahans*, or lower officials, for the *sawahs* and two for the dry fields. The first category of officials are called *sĕdahan tĕmuku*, a designation which has to do with one of their chief tasks, supervising the distribution of irrigation water by means of distribution blocks (*tĕmukus*), while their fellow-officials for the dry fields (*tĕgalan*) and gardens (*abian*) are called *sĕdahan abian-tĕgal* after the nature of the lands under their jurisdiction. The territory over which a *sĕdahan* is placed, the *pĕsĕdahan*, is divided in *desas* in the case of dry lands, but the wet ricefields are organized in *subaks*.

312 651 624

The *sĕdahan agung* and the *sĕdahans tĕmuku* are concerned not only with the collection of taxes, but also with the *subak* system. When large-scale projects are to be taken up, or when there has been serious damage to the irrigation works of one or more *subaks*, the *sĕdahan agung* and his *sĕdahans* regulate the way in which the various *subaks* are to cooperate and to what extent other *subaks* are to lend their assistance. The *sĕdahan agung* also gives advice on irrigation problems and functions as a link between the *subak*, the Dutch authorities, and the relevant technical services. He moreover makes contact with the *desa* administrations in order to arrive at an effective arrangement for setting dates when statute labour and *desa* and *subak* services are to be rendered.

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To mention a few examples, in September, 1935, the extensive damage to the tunnel system of the *subak* of Yeh Buah wrought by a flash-flood was repaired with the *subaks*, the central authorities, and the irrigation service cooperating, while in December of the same year a start was made in straightening the lower reaches of the Pĕrgung River. In these projects the activity of dozens of *subaks* was organized; the help of the irrigation service was restricted to giving advice and surveying the land.

In some cases the *sĕdahan agung* sees to a certain amount of coordination in religious matters, while the adjudication of *subak* violations according to *adat* law also falls within his competence. In the latter the *sĕdahan agung* has an appellate function; he has the power to apply sanctions recognized by *adat*, such as fines and the withholding of irrigation water, but he cannot impose imprisonment.[7] The *sĕdahans tĕmuku* supervise the use and accountability of *subak* funds. The agricultural officials also have some influence on arrangements for irrigation rotation between *subaks*. In the westerly irrigation territories such arrangements are not necessary, since the irrigation-water supply is sufficient; in the *pĕsĕdahan* of Jĕmbrana and further to the east there is a system of irrigation rotation regulating which month a specific *subak* has disposal over water. The arrangement is constant: there are no periodical changes with the intention of creating conditions which are in the long run the same for everyone. It is the rule, however, that the *subaks* lying farthest from the weir receive water first. Also steps are taken to counteract consequences which might be unfavourable for some *subaks* as a result of a certain seasonal arrangement, in keeping with the principle that everyone has to contribute a like amount in the costs of irrigation. In each of the two *pĕsĕdahans* Nĕgara and Jĕmbrana there is only one *subak* depending on tunnel irrigation; in the *pĕsĕdahan* Mĕndoyo there are underground conduits in the irrigation system of four *subaks*. In Jagaraga-Pulukan, however, there are ten *subaks* with tunnels. As regards dry-field farming the *sĕdahans* and the *sĕdahan agung* have a function in the dissemination of agricultural information.

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The Position of the Blacksmiths

by

R. Goris

EP. 289-1

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R. Goris' outline of "De positie der pande wesi" (The Position of the *Pande Wési*), was published, together with his "Korte analyse van een lontar, door de pande wesi gebezigd" (Brief *Précis* of a *Lontar* Used by the *Pande Wési*), in the *Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk* (Communications of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation), i (1929), 41-52. The present text is an unabridged translation.

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The Position of the Blacksmiths

Recently the gild of blacksmiths on Bali, the *pande wĭsi*, has been in the news again, and it occurred to me that it might be desirable to recount something of the history of the group's social evolution. Leaving the special nature of the present difficulties completely out of consideration here, I shall restrict myself to a general historical survey of the position of the *pande wĭsi* as a group. 326

As early as 1905 Van Ossenbruggen pointed out that on Bali the smiths, and everyone who worked in metal, which is highly magical in significance, were themselves magically dangerous personalities.[1] A decade later this same eminent scholar of *adat* law, in a trailblazing article, considered the question anew in the general context of magically dangerous objects and crafts.[2] Further important data on the smiths and other craftsmen on Bali were collected by the *controleur* De Kat Angelino.[3] 326 114

To trace the development of relationships between the smiths and the *puri* or *kraton* of the ruler in nascent Hindu-Javanese (and later Hindu-Javanese Balinese) society, however, the Old Javanese epigraphs, inscriptions in stone and bronze, are of extremely great importance. Stutterheim pointed this out in an excellent article on various functionaries, officials, and craftsmen who enjoyed special incomes from the ruler's *puri*, at the same time demonstrating the magic significance of some of them as it appears in the epigraphs.[4]

An extensive comparative study which I have made has convinced me that these official documents of early Java are the best sources of information regarding the development of Hindu-Javanese (and later Hindu-Balinese) society, hence also regarding the aspect of that society under consideration here.

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326 114 These authentic documents, which do not represent a traditional historiography such as is contained in the *lontar* literature, but reflect with documentary reliability the actual conditions at the time of their dating, demonstrate that before the arrival of Hindu culture on Java and Bali the *desa* was the political unit. All traditional indigenous power was vested in the *desa* authorities. And in the *desa* the smiths (including the blacksmiths, coppersmiths, and goldsmiths) were among the important craftsmen represented by an *ĕmpu*, a 'master' (smith).

463 823 565 This is true on Bali even today; specific functions in the village community are still performed by members of specific classes: *pasĕk*, *kĕbayan*, *pande*, and so forth.[5] All metal was and is considered by Indonesians as magically dangerous, magically 'charged', and anyone who desires to be in daily contact with it must himself have magic power at his disposal, since otherwise there are great risks involved. For this reason the smiths constituted a separate genealogical group in which not only the technique of forging was kept secret but certain magical craft usages were retained – usages in connection both with the initiation of apprentice-sons and with the tools of the trade, which on Bali even today may only be used after certain *mantras* have been recited. De Kat Angelino published these *mantras* in his instructive study,[6] and I have also found them listed in the 'codex of the smiths', the *Prasasti Sira Pande Ĕmpu*, to which I shall return below.

326 643 With the establishment and expansion of royal authority, and hand in hand with it that of the priests, who were also made members of the judiciary newly instituted after the Hindu model – in a word, with the rise and development of the Hindu-Javanese state, – it goes without saying that the older crafts and social forces were driven into the background.

Despite the Hinduism which he officially professed, however, the early Javanese or Balinese ruler was Indonesian to the core, and the magic power of the *pande wĕsi* was just as real to him as to every other Javanese or Balinese. In order not to turn that magic power against it, but rather in its favour, it seemed to the court group (the ruler and the priests, each with a vast host of subordi-

l:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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nates) to be the best policy to attach the magic force to the *puri* or *kraton*. The epigraphs present a clear picture of a constantly increasing dependence of these crafts on the palace, the symbol of the Hindu-Javanese state. This was all the more desirable since they had traditionally enjoyed great prestige.

This is perhaps a proper place to touch on the question of the *sudras*, since it is a very important matter not only as regards the smiths, but also in connection with various other groups that have repeatedly given trouble to the Dutch authorities on Bali. I need only recall the *bujangga* or *sĕngguhu* affair in Mĕngwi. Lekkerkerker[7] and later Korn[8] pointed out in their dissertations that the use of the *agamas* or Hindu-Balinese law books by the Courts of Kĕrta in their adjudications is largely legal fiction. The same thing is true as regards the three-caste (*triwangsa*) system. In both cases canon law from elsewhere has nominally been retained and applied, while in actuality social relations on Bali have continued to be governed by traditional *adat* concepts. The relation between *adat* law and Hindu canon law in early Java and present-day Bali might well be compared to that between early Germanic law and Christian canon law in medieval Europe.

A few further comments on the *triwangsa* system may be appropriate at this point.[9] In the homeland of Hinduism the caste system was a stratification imposed on the conquered autochthonous population by the Aryans; on Bali it was perhaps a system imported from the Javanese realm of Majapahit. Up to the present no data have been found regarding a *triwangsa* structure on Bali before the Majapahit period, or at least before the beginning of Javanese influence during the reign of Erlangga in the early eleventh century.[10] The Majapahit influence – which does not date merely from the fall of Majapahit, thus in the late fifteenth century, but was strong from the time of Ayam Wuruk's reign, that is to say since around 1350 – transformed the direct Hindu-Balinism which had preceded it into a Hindu-Javanese Balinism.

In the *triwangsa* system the first caste was that of the Brahmins, from whose families the *pĕdandas* came. The second caste was that

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564 of the *ksatriyas*, whence came the rulers and their *punggawas* (originally the *punggawas* were all of them relatives of the ruler). The third caste was that of the *wesyas*. Who were *wesyas* on Java and Bali (with the noble title of *gusti*) is not clear. In India they were those merchant gentlemen and large landholders not belonging to the royal family. From around 1350 on, the other population groups were lumped together as *sudras*.[11]

Originally only a Javanese colonist could belong to the *triwangsa*. As a result of rapid intermarriage with Balinese families, and perhaps of elevation of Balinese families to the nobility by Javanese-Balinese rulers, the number of *triwangsa* members, who were at the same time 'men of Majapahit', expanded swiftly. Many Balinese who had attained something of a position for themselves attempted (and still attempt) to be elevated to the nobility, in most cases to the lowest rank, that of *gusti*.

Nowadays almost all Balinese, even outside the nobility, pretend to be 'men of Majapahit'. The designation *Bali-aga*, which merely means 'indigenous Balinese', has become an expression of disdain; all Balinese groups that did not wish to take part in the process of Hindu-Javanization were ousted from the new society, and still live in a few separate *desas*. The unity of the *Bali-aga* is a purely negative one, that of being non-Javanized Hindu-Balinese.

Hence while various population groups, including particularly a number of time-honoured craft families such as the goldsmiths, the bluers, and the weavers of Tĕnganan,[12] secluded themselves from the Hindu-Javanese Balinese society developing in the centuries between 1400 and 1900, others remained in the new society, where they were tolerated by the dominant minority as *sudras*.

The *sudras* constitute more than ninety per cent. of the present-day Hindu-Balinese population. It goes without saying that their unity, like that of the *Bali-aga*, is a purely negative one: they are not *triwangsa* members, not of noble blood.

Among these *sudra* masses there are any number of groups who have not the least desire to be looked upon as *sudras* in the sense of nondescript multitudes. They may be *sudras* as a canonical fiction, and the six per cent. of the population[13] who have raised or

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vaunted themselves into the *triwangsa* may haughtily refer to them as such, but all Balinese, including members of the *triwangsa*, recognize the existence of many different groups such as the *pasĕks*, the *bĕndesas*, and the *pulosaris* within this multitude.[14] Some of these groups, such as the *bujanggas* and the *sĕngguhus* and the people of the *desa* of Tĕnganan on the border of the *Bali-aga*, have customs that are deviant in cer ain aspects. In this connection reference may also be made to the group of the *mĕsiwa raga*, who have their own holy water, yet may be buried in the general graveyard and may be cremated. (It should also be pointed out that many 'ordinary' Hindu-Balinese do not obtain their holy water for cremation from the *pĕdanda Brahma*, but from the *pĕmangku* of the *pura dalĕm*, the guardian of the temple of the dead; such people are called *mĕsiwa kĕ dalĕm*.)

One of these separate groups is that of the *pande wĕsi*. In the course of the centuries this group has to all appearances largely accepted *triwangsa* usages in its ritual. Never completely, however, or at least never without a vivid awareness that it had older rights than the Brahmins coming from Java. In some *desas* the blacksmiths have their own temples and graveyards; in others they have become an integral part of the *desa* community, even in its Hindu-Javanese configuration.

Here I should like to report something of their *Prasasti Sira Pande Ĕmpu*, a résumé of which is given in the appendix below. The codification of literature, of whatever sort, is a Hindu phenomenon on Java and Bali. First the Hindu writings were copied out, then provided with a commentary, and in a later stage rewritten in a form adapted to Indonesian circumstances, but eventually purely Indonesian literature, which until then had been preserved in oral tradition, was also recorded. Hence the *pande wĕsi* codified their tradition in the Gelgel period, thus after 1400. Their *prasasti* is, in its present form, a Hindu-Javanese product in appearance and structure. Essential parts of it, however, are purely Indonesian.

As regards structure, the work begins with an account of creation, or a cosmogony. In content this account deviates from the usual cosmogonies in allowing the whole world to be formed from

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773 326 564 565 Brahma, who is very clearly not the Brahma of early Hinduism, but the fire god. As an intermediary figure between Brahma and the *pande wĕsi* appears Ĕmpu Pradah, in the *prasasti* a mythological figure who has only his name in common with the historical Mpu Bharāḍa of Erlangga's reign (*circa* 1040). It is Ĕmpu Pradah who provides the smiths with their holy water.

Then follow a great number of *mantras*, both for the tools used in forging and for the ritual of the dead, which is described at length. The chief *mantra*, called *sundari bungkah*, is definitely a new fabrication the notion of which must be attributed to partial knowledge of the *mantra* books of the *pĕdandas:* the combination of letters in it cannot even be pronounced, let alone that it might have any lexical significance. It is neither indigenous nor Hindu.

565 326 As regards the essential characteristics of the *prasasti*, the most significant thing is the central place of Fire, the god of the smiths. Also of importance is the use of certain formulas which are of Indonesian origin rather than Hindu and which also occur in the age-old purification rites, the similarly pre-Hindu *ruwat* or *lukat* formulas.

In its present form, however, the *prasasti* as a whole is so much a Hindu-Javanese work and so permeated by general Hindu conceptions that on the basis of its contents I would consider it an imitation of the customary *tutur* literature which was dictated by the needs of the times. The *pande wĕsi*, hard-pressed for centuries, will have felt that, in order to maintain their own position, it would be best to imitate the general type of religious book, combining a cosmogony and ritual prescripts. As early as 1878 Van Eck commented:

> It is curious to hear the tales that have been and are being invented to demonstrate clearly and obviously that one actually is of Majapahit descent ...[15]

Korn similarly states:

> Hence the classes mentioned above [including the *pande wĕsi*], in order to escape being grouped among ordinary *sudras*, have felt called upon to demonstrate by means of genealogies, *pĕmĕnchangahs*, *prasastis*, and *babads* that they are of divine origin ...[16]

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There is so little of the pre-Hindu tradition of the *pande wĕsi* included in this *prasasti* that in our eyes it would seem a pretty weak argument to their advantage. However, on taking into consideration the time of writing one can conclude from the compilation of such a *lontar* that the *pande wĕsi* had no desire to be completely absorbed into Hindu-Javanese society on Bali, but wished to claim a special place for themselves.

By composing such a *lontar* and even more by using the general structure of the books of the *pĕdandas* and borrowing a great deal of *mantra* material from them, the *pande wĕsi* acted in keeping with the demands of the age between 1400 and 1900. This was the only sort of evidence that was valued by the Hindu-Balinese public. If the blacksmiths had said 'We are pre-Hindu', they would have been boycotted instead of retaining their special place in society. Hence they reasoned: 'We, too, are descendants of Brahma and Pradah, and Brahma, in his incarnation as Pradah, gave us the oldest rights.'

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Appendix

Précis of a Lontar Used by the Blacksmiths

326 564 The opening of the *Prasasti Sira Panḍe Êmpu* provides a cosmogony of the type such as is usually to be found in other *tuturs* or mystical writings. The chief difference is that in this *lontar* Batara Brahma is assigned a more important rôle. Here, [372 776] however, Brahma is not to be conceived of in his traditional Hindu significance, but as lord of the fire. This conception of Brahma as equivalent to *agni* or fire corresponds completely with that of the people of Tĕnggĕr, and in fact various *mantras* show a great similarity to the *ruwat mantras* of the Tĕnggĕrese.[1]

From Brahma's asceticism arises Êmpu Pradah. In the *lontar* the figure has become completely mythological, a phenomenon of the Gelgel period (from 1350 onwards). There is not a trace of the historical Mpu Bharāḍa and his journey to Bali during the reign of King Erlangga. Other figures such as Sang Hyang Taya[2] point towards the later stage of mystical literature,[3] the so-called pre-Moslem Javanism stemming from the period after the heyday of Majapahit, thus after 1350. In this *lontar* there are also late Gelgel (hence Javanized Hindu-Balinese) notions regarding Majapahit and similar matters.

Êmpu Pradah is made the first lord of the gild of the smiths. Then it is pointed out that all sorts of weapons, agricultural tools, and the like are made by the smiths, and that these objects are used by everyone, including the Brahmins (for example creeses). The smiths are able to make such objects because of their magic power, their *sakti*, which is concentrated in their basic *mantra*, the *sundari bungkah*.

According to the *lontar* the Brahmins acquired all their wisdom and their knowledge of ritual from the smiths. Smiths are also in every respect more than the *wiku*, the lords spiritual of whatever

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origin who practise asceticism, often living in monasteries.[4] Since the *pande wĕsi* are in every way more ancient than the Brahmins they are of course not permitted to follow the newer, Brahmanic rite, hence also not to use Brahmanic holy water.

There is an explicit warning, also for other persons who are not members of the *triwangsa*, against following the usages of Brahmins and of rulers or *ksatriyas*. It is noteworthy that reference is not made to a *triwangsa–sudra* antithesis, but to one of various sorts of craftsmen over against Brahman priests and noble lords (*ratus*, *punggawas*, and other *ksatriyas*).

It is also worthy of note that for cases of such unlawful following of rituals meant for other groups Sĕmar acts as judge, for Sĕmar is a purely pre-Hindu Javanese figure, probably an old deity who later obtained a more subordinate place in the newer Hindu system. Still considered as 'older than the gods', he has a separate altar in many Balinese temples.

After this account follow extensive and detailed regulations of the way in which the *pande wĕsi* are to perform their ritual of the dead. In it there are a great many Sanskrit *mantras* also known from the liturgies of the *pĕdandas*. Besides such *mantras* there are also *mantras*, likewise in Sanskrit, for the various forging tools.[1]

In the cosmogonical and historical section the *Prasasti Sira Pande Empu* is very repetitive.

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The Village Republic of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan

by

V. E. Korn

[p. 300 is blank]

[p. 301]

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In 1926 V. E. Korn collected data on a number of villages in Karangasĕm, among them Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. At the request of the Tĕnganan authorities, he later worked up his notes on that village into the extensive monograph *De dorpsrepubliek Tenganan Pagringsingan* (The Village Republic of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan), which was issued in 1933 (Santpoort, the Netherlands) as a publication of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation. The following text is a somewhat abridged translation of Part One and Chapters Three, Four, Five (in part), and Six of Part Two of the monograph.

[p. 302]

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Chapter One

The Village and the Villagers

On the highway linking the Balinese capital Den Pasar with the seat of the regent of Karangasĕm, the small village of Nyuhtĕbĕl lies two miles to the west of the steep slope of Mount Bugbug, and from there a poorly maintained country road runs northwards to the valley communities of Pasĕdahan and Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. Few people realize that that insignificant road leads to a world full of curiosities and mysteries, a world of relics from earlier ages, albeit that the past they represent is not so inexorably dead as that of the treasures from the Egyptian valley of the kings.

On his very arrival at Pasĕdahan the visitor experiences the pleasant sensation that there is much here which is different from elsewhere. A square pile of stones with a *mĕnur* – a crown-shaped stone decoration in which the one person detects a stylized *...ngga*, the other a flower bud – at each corner is pointed out as the general place of worship for the village, under the name of *bĕdugul* (elsewhere the name of a *subak* temple). On being asked where the *bale agung* (the offering pavilion of a village, and often also its assembly hall) is, the surprised villager answers, "Gone, vanished into the air". The foundations are still to be found, however, overgrown with weeds.

Though from the map one obtains the impression that the two villages practically form one solid unit, it is not possible to go to Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan *via* Pasĕdahan, since a ravine separates them.[1] Instead one has to bypass the residential villages and follow the eastern hill path (from where the houses can be seen lying in the valley), go through a wooden gateway (to be distinguished from the *desa* gates), and then descend in a westerly direction to Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan.

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621 This *desa* is completely different from the ordinary Balinese
361 village in appearance. Extending roughly five hundred yards from north to south and two hundred fifty yards from east to west, it gives the impression of being a compact settlement built according to a preconceived plan. Three broad main streets with rows of guava trees down the middle divide the village into four large, approximately equal strips, each subdivided into two or three blocks of compounds by side streets set at right angles to the main streets. Running water streams through the stone gutters beside the streets and along the rear of the compounds.

The village lies locked between the ravine to the south mentioned above, the Pandĕk River (with little water) to the west, and the row of foothills to the east. The northern limit consists of a *desa* street and the *kaja-kauh* (northwestern) bathing place, which, like the street and compound gutters, receives its water from a conduit dug through rough terrain from the Buhu River, running through the eastern part of the village territory.

Since the *desa* rises sharply to the north the streets are terraced. The transitions from one terrace to another consist of steep inclines of river stones.

One's attention is particularly attracted by the unbroken row of serried roofs of coconut leaf and palm fibre on either side of the streets. At first sight they seem to form one long house, because of the peculiar location of the dwellings and other buildings in the compounds. The compounds, surrounded by walls half of stone and half of clay, are roughly twenty yards deep and fifteen yards across. A small stone incline leads from the street to the plain stone compound gate (*jĕlanan awang*) with its wooden door, which is closed at night. Often small holes are left open near the ground on either side of the gate so that the dogs can get in and out. Higher up on both sides are the offering niches (*bĕlong jĕlanan*), usually triangular in shape.

342 Upon entering the compound one finds oneself beneath an oblong roof stretching along the street side, with the space to the right used as a place to store agricultural and other equipment, and that to the left as the *bale buga*. This *bale* is specifically Tĕngan-

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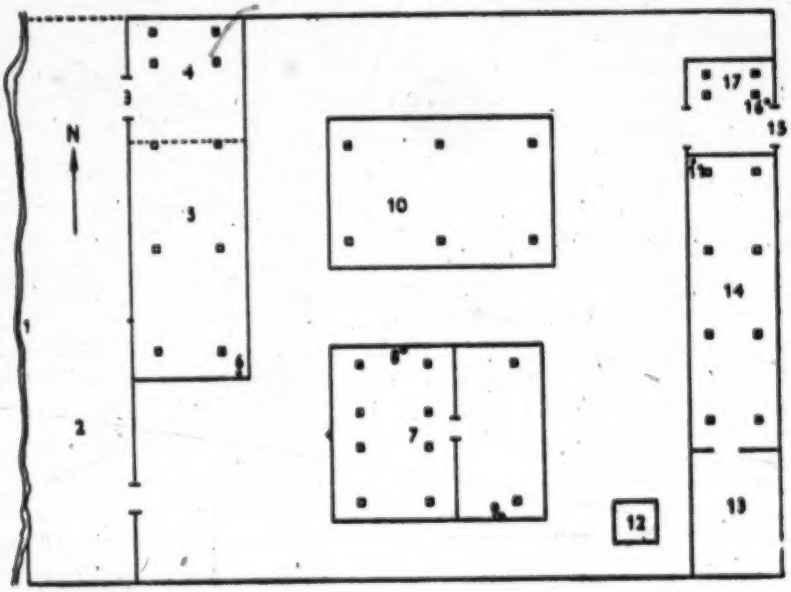

PLAN OF A TĔNGANANESE COMPOUND

1 Water condult
2 *Tĕba*
3 Rear gate
4 *Lésung*
5 Kitchen
6 Kitchen offering niche
7 *Bale siyadandan mahamben*
8 Window
9 Window
10 *Bale sakanim*
11 *Aling-aling* offering niche
12 Family chapel
13 Storeroom
14 *Bale buga*
15 Compound gate
16 Gate offering niche
17 Storage shed

anese. It rests on eight columns, with three cubicles of five by seven feet partioned off between them and open at the front. (In the *banjar* of Pande the *bale buga* is only allowed to have two cubicles.) The cubicle nearest the gate is used for the arrangement of offerings on festive occasions; the other two serve as sleeping space for the boys and young men, while in the daytime the women weave there. The walls and ceiling are often covered with mats and decorated by clipped-paper borders. Above the sleeping accommodation the wooden partition is occasionally

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342 decorated with scenes from the *Smarandana*. To the left of the *bale buga* is the storeroom (*gĕdong*). The compound gate, the storage space, the *bale buga*, and the *gĕdong*, then, are all under one roof, which is required to be made of sugar-palm fibre or coconut leaf. *Alang-alang* may not be used for it.

In front of the *gĕdong* is the *sanggah kĕmulan*,[3] the family chapel, consisting of a wooden chamber with four columns covered with sugar-palm fibre. Beneath the *sanggah* is a large earthenware pot for holy water, the *gĕnduk sanggah*. The sanctuary is overshadowed by a small Cape jasmine tree.

In the middle of the compound stand the two largest and most important buildings, the *bale sakanĕm* and the *bale siyadandan mahamben*. It is in the *bale sakanĕm* (which, as its name implies, has six columns) that a Tĕngananese first sees the light of day, and it is there that his body is washed before it is taken to the graveyard. The space between the six columns contains two rooms like those in the *bale buga*, one of them seven feet square, the other seven by nine. Above these rooms is the rice granary. The *bale siyadandan mahamben* – the nine-columned *bale* with the verandah – is practically the same as the *umah mĕten* or sleeping house found elsewhere. The verandah is open except on the left side, where a stone wall with a window obscures the clay compound wall. A wooden door gives access to a room seven feet wide and thirteen feet long, except for a small corridor completely filled by two large sleeping tables, with storage space for all kinds of household articles above them. The right wall has a small window, and the rear wall a triangular opening. The roof is usually of coconut leaf or *alang-alang*. The room serves as sleeping space for the daughters, and the verandah for the parents.

Behind the *bale siyadandan* is the pigpen, while a barrel of water indicates that one can also wash there. The right-hand corner of the rear of the compound contains a large kitchen (*paon*), and the *lĕsung*, where the rice is husked. Both of them are under a single roof. A gate in the rear wall (*jĕlanan tĕba*) gives access to the place used by the members of the family for toilet purposes; the water running from the conduit through the *tĕba* is used for the custom-

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ary cleansing. There is also a small gate to the *tĕba* from the pig-342
pen, and the omnivorous pigs serve to keep the area cleaned up.

At various places in the walls of the buildings there are *bĕlongs* or offering niches, for example in the *paon*, the *bale siyadandan*, the *gĕdong*, and the *bale buga*, which last niche is known as *bĕlong alingaling*.[3] In the walls on the street side there are several blind windows.

This description of a Tĕngananese compound holds true for most of the compounds in the village, though there are some of slightly larger dimensions. The uniform architecture gives the village a well-groomed appearance, and that impression is reinforced by the fact that the attractive assembly halls and other public buildings are also laid out in one line.

A disproportionally large *desa* territory belongs to this residential 361
village of approximately thirty acres. There is a legend regarding 311
the origin of the *desa* territory that is current in various versions. 538
Long, long ago the ruler of Bedahulu had a favourite horse, pitch black with a white tail, that was also much in the favour of the ruler's groom (*i pĕkatik*). Once, in the heat of battle, the ruler lost his horse. He sent his subjects out to seek the animal: he sent the *pandes mas*, the goldsmiths, to the northwest, where they established themselves as the Bratanese, and the *pandes wĕsi*, the blacksmiths, to the east. Led by the *pĕkatik*, Onche Sĕraya, the *pandes wĕsi* finally came to Chandi Dasa, where the *pĕkatik* found the horse dead in the forest. He immediately informed the ruler, who asked, "Tell me, groom, do you still cherish love for my horse?" To which the *pĕkatik* answered humbly, "Hail, exalted ruler of the world; if you have no objections, I pray you to allow me to keep vigil over the body of the horse in the forest; when I die, let it be beside the horse, for my love for it has not diminished." The ruler of Bedahulu answered, "This is your considered request; so be it. But then you must accept a favour from me. See how far you can trace the smell of the body in the neighbourhood; as far as it reaches, so far shall the territory extend which I grant you as a sign of my gratitude for the love you bear my horse."[4] And the

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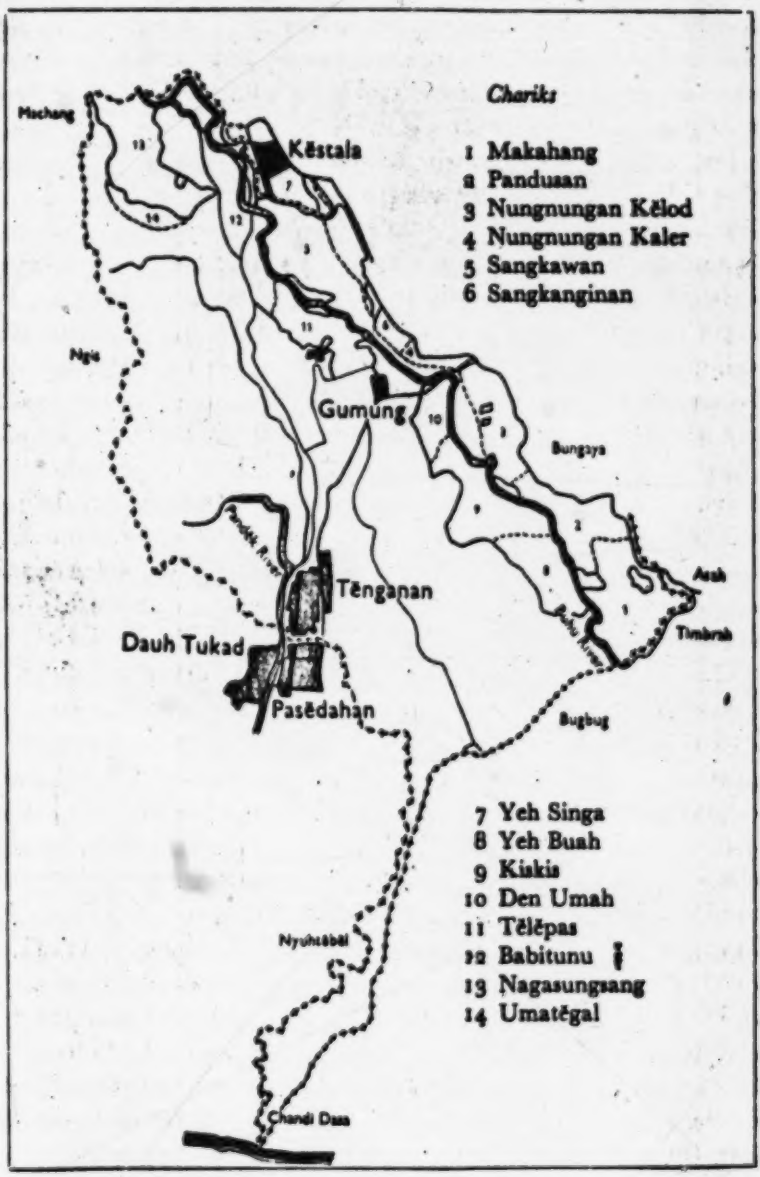

THE DESA TERRITORY OF TĔNGANAN

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pĕkatik requested the ruler's permission to return to the corpse. As soon as he arrived he chopped the animal into pieces and carried them in various directions, so that the smell of the corpse spread over a larger area. The territory he acquired in this way comprised the present village territory of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. On the spot where Onche Sĕraya found the body, there still stands the *pura batu manggar*, nearby Chandi Dasa in the south. In the west, where he took the thighs, is the *pura pĕpuhon;* in the north, where the belly was placed, is the *pura batu kĕbĕn;* and in the east, where he left the entrails, is the *pura tai kik*. Then there are the *pura rambut pule* in the northeast, the *pura pĕnimbalan* in the southeast, and the *pura kaki dukun* in the centre, where Onche Sĕraya deposited the horse's head, forelegs, and scrotum respectively. At all these places there are peculiarly shaped stones which are revered as parts of the horse. All Tĕngananese coming from the *pasar* at Sibĕtan or Bĕbandĕm place an offering on the *kaki dukun*. The worshipping of stones is customary throughout Bali, but particularly in Karangasĕm. Everywhere one comes across stones of somewhat unusual shapes or extraordinary dimensions that have been set up, and where offerings are made. In the *pura pĕtung* there are nothing but large stones on the offering platforms.[5]

In another version of the legend the *pĕkatik* carried a piece of the horse's body in his bamboo walking stick as he went around with the official who had been charged by the ruler to check how far the smell of the corpse could be detected. A third version makes the horse the property of the well-known priest Wau Rauh.[6]

The *desa* territory has a small stretch of beach, the Pasi Chandi Dasa, named after the Hindu Chandi Dasa in the territory of the *desa* of Bungaya, where there is a statue of Hariti.[7] In earlier times the village is said to have been located on this beach and to have borne the name of Panĕgĕs, according to some people called after the village of Tĕgĕs, between Pĕliatan and Bedahulu in Gianyar, whence the Tĕngananese are said to hail. But the dwellings were constantly being destroyed by the sea, so the people moved further inland – *ngĕlĕngahang* this is called, which gave rise to the name

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361 311 538 Tĕnganan:[8] The village came to be called Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan because of the skill of the village women in making *gĕringsing* fabrics. The village boundaries are described in detail in the *desa* constitution.

621 133 The topography is extremely rough. The footpaths are very hard to traverse especially in the rainy season, and several expeditions through the *desa* territory and to other villages in the neighbourhood helped me understand why the region of Karangasĕm was earlier described by the military patrols as *kurang asĕm*, 'short of breath'. Running through the western part of the village territory from north to south is the Panděk River, and in the eastern part the Buhu River streams through a fine complex of *sawahs*. There are two other settlements in the *desa* territory. Kĕstala, Wra Kĕstala, or Ora Kĕstala in the north is a hamlet of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan founded owing to special circumstances. Gumung, a few miles to the north of Tĕnganan, is a daughter *desa* of the village of Bungaya. Both settlements have their own territory, the first as a *banjar*, and the second as a *desa*.

621 [162] In 1926 the total population of the village proper of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan was 603, of which 415 could be considered as full-fledged citizens. The others were either people born elsewhere or people who had transgressed village customs in one way or another. Anyone used to the sturdy figure of Balinese farmers is struck by the none-too-healthy appearance of these valley inhabitants. This is probably to be attributed in part to the fact that the closed-in location of the village leads to a sultry temperature during the day. On the other hand the village has the advantage of significantly longer cool periods, since the sun rises later over the eastern hills and disappears earlier behind those to the west than is the case in the open plains, and moreover the absence of stagnant water, even in the remotest corners of the village, has [164] the result that there are very few mosquitoes, and so no malaria. Other possible causes for the less vigorous appearance of the people are the idle way of life of the actual core of the population and the high degree of inbreeding. The members of the village

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are forbidden to work in the *sawahs*,[9] though they obtain a large share of the yield from the abundant, excellent farmland. The *desa* members receive their crop share from their *pĕnyakaps*, people of Kĕstala, Gumung, and neighbouring *desas*. The inbreeding is the result of the nearly total endogamy and the preference to marry within one's own class and family.

Reference should also be made to abuses in the sexual field. The first impression in this regard is one of extreme strictness and soberness. But prolonged engagements plus the custom of allowing young men to hold an erotic feast with women from outside the *desa* once a year have contributed no small amount to the spread of venereal diseases. I was informed in strict confidence of several serious cases of neglected syphilis, and there was great diffidence when I referred them to the government physician at Karangasĕm. (A survey made in 1929 showed that at that time there was not much venereal disease.)

As far as I could trace, the population is tending to decrease.[10] This seems to me all the more regrettable because the Tĕngananese have a definite understanding of hygiene (though one would not think it on viewing the accumulation of rubbish in various places). There are bathing places on every side of the village, some of them hewn with great care in the banks of the Pandĕk River.

Persons suffering from certain contagious diseases are banished from the village to the so-called *alas tĕben*, the low-lying woods on the border with Pasĕdahan, where they are left almost entirely to their fate. On asking what such people should live from I was answered that they could eat whatever they wanted to if they looked after it themselves, but a visit to the spot proved to me that nothing would grow there. The result is that the isolated persons disappear after a time and are never heard of again: a cheap method of caring for the ill. Among the persons isolated in this way are not only lepers (who, in fact, are nowadays well cared for in the leper colony at Bugbug), but also persons suffering from skin diseases, for instance *abong*, a sort of scabies, and similar afflictions that are probably not even contagious. In Tĕnganan as elsewhere on Bali, the care for such sick persons is entrusted to,

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75 *balians usada*, Balinese doctors possessing books on botany and medicine (*usada*).[11] In this connection mention may also be made of the prohibitions against buying the meat of animals that have died and against the use of opium.

465 As was said, the Tĕngananese do not farm their lands themselves. *Sawahs*, gardens, and coconut groves are almost all operated by so-called *pĕnyakaps* as sharecroppers. An exception is the *kayu naung*, which yields palm wine: a large share of the Tĕngananese occupy themselves with producing this wine. However, they must leave [273 258] the making of sugar or spirits from it to persons from outside the village, since that is prohibited members of the *desa*. The consumption of palm wine is high. Mention should also be made of [386] the production of oil from candle-nuts for household consumption and for dyeing yarns. The characteristic oil presses are to be seen standing along the main streets.

The wives and daughters of the *desa* members are forbidden to do any trading. Even day-to-day purchases at the *pasar* they have to leave to people who are not (or no longer) eligible for *desa* membership.

231 As regards livestock, there are various regulations restricting the keeping of cattle. No cows are allowed inside the residential *desa* (though they are permitted in the gardens), and members of the *desa* may not take care of them. On the other hand the consumption of beef is not prohibited. Buffaloes are owned only by the *desa* as a whole: they are used exclusively as offering animals, and their dung serves as medicine. Horseback riding is forbidden inside the *desa*. Every woman who is a member of the *desa* raises pigs, but the keeping of boars is a privilege of the *pasĕk*, who derives certain advantages from it. Pigs may only be sold to other members of the *desa* with the knowledge of the *desa* association. Only sick and mangy animals are permitted to be sold to the Chinese pigdealers, likewise with the consent of the *desa*. Almost all types [782] of livestock are of importance primarily as offering animals. During the *usaba* in the fifth month (Kalima) of the Tĕngananese calendar, no less than fifty pigs are offered. Poultry are among the smaller offerings.

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There is little hunting and fishing as an occupation. Nets, snares, 224
and traps are used in hunting, primarily to catch chevrotains, 226
which are to be found in abundance near the boundary with the *desa* of Dauh Tukad. The Tĕngananese girls are very fond of the *dedes rase*, so that the young fellows, especially, concentrate on catching this musk-deer.

There is practically nothing done in the way of handicrafts (with 463
the single exception of weaving) in Tĕnganan. I counted only [286]
twelve carpenters, two wood and stone workers, and one smith in the village. The smith comes from the village of Tunggak, and is bound to the *desa* by a permanent debt. The Tĕngananese smiths of earlier times have moved to the *pande* village of Bratan. The dwellings display little that is artistic; only a few temple gates have been given a certain amount of decoration by artists from other villages. Nowadays, however, there are several skilled wood carvers in the village.

The dwellings are to a very large extent covered with coconut 342
leaf. The roofing is done by persons from other *desas*, who also provide the material. If a roof is to be covered with *alang-alang*, however, other members of the *desa* are asked to help. As was pointed out, the *bale buga* must have a roof either of coconut leaf or sugar-palm fibre, which latter is very expensive. Plaiting and the making of bricks and pottery are prohibited activities, though [462
the women are allowed to glaze ceramics made elsewhere. 184]

So-called Tĕngananese fabrics are popular throughout Bali and 286
among all tourists. It is, however, not so well known that these fabrics are made only in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, and not, for example, in the nearby *desas* of Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Tĕnganan Pasĕdahan. Hence the Balinese themselves rightly call the fabrics *gĕringsing*, though Europeans always speak of Tĕngananese cloths.[12] It is frequently said that the reddish-brown colour which gives the fabrics such a warm glow beside the black and yellow was originally obtained with human blood. In Tĕnganan itself, however, this is emphatically denied. As far back as can be remembered the dye has been obtained from Nusa Pĕnida, and the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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286 yarns from Abang, Datah, Mount Sĕraya, and Chulik. The weaving women are nowadays much given to complaining about the adulteration of the dye on Nusa Pĕnida, as a result of which the sheen is less rich. The name *gĕringsing* is explained in popular [789] etymology as meaning 'free from sickness' (*gĕring* means 'sick' and *sing* 'not'), which is in itself enough to indicate that the cloths are honoured by the people because of their magic influence. The origin of the *gĕringsing* cloths is traced back to Batara Indra, who created shadows in the sky so that they could be copied as patterns in the cloths.

As was pointed out, the weaving of the *gĕringsings*, a sacred activity for the women, is done in the *bale buga*, where the top ends of the warp threads are attached to one of the columns. There is no actual loom. The weaving women have to take a number of *adat* regulations into account. Throughout Bali weavers are strict in following the *adat:* they are afraid of disgruntling Batara Sawatuwa, who then tangles the threads or plays some other sort of prank. This belief is widespread in Tĕnganan. During dyeing, for example, it may happen that the red colour is uneven or that the black suddenly turns ash-grey. In that case the dyeing is stopped and the cloth is finished and sold outside the *desa* – for while in the *desa* itself a miscarried *gĕringsing* is not considered of any value, people elsewhere on Bali are content to use it for various ceremonies, and tourists, too, are not so particular.[13]

In early times the *gĕringsing* fabrics were used by rulers and lords. In the *Rangga-Lawe*, for example, it is said that Sri Arsa Wijaya made use of a *gĕringsing*.[14] Outside Tĕnganan the *gĕringsing* fabrics are today requisites for any number of *adat* ceremonies. Often the cloths are rented or borrowed for the occasion, since by no means everyone owns such a valuable fabric. They are used at the [852] three-month and six-month ceremonies for children, at the hair offering, and at tooth-filings, weddings, and funerals, while they also serve as decorations in temples.

Special mention should be made of the use of the *sanan ĕmpĕg*, the smallest type of Tĕngananese cloth. If someone's next older brother and younger brother die he is called *sanan ĕmpĕg*, a broken

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yoke. He is considered as impure, and this gives rise to an offering 286
at which he must wear a *gĕringsing sanan ĕmpĕg*.[15] He continues to wear this *gĕringsing* for six seven-day weeks. According to popular belief if the rice crop is threatened by a plague, especially of locusts, persons who are *sanan ĕmpĕg* must be requested to make a procession to the *sawahs* wearing the *gĕringsing*. Shouting continually, they rouse the insects, which then disappear no one knows where.

In the village of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan itself the use of certain *gĕringsings* is prescribed for specified ceremonies. There is little known about the names of the different fabrics. There are three ways of classifying them: according to the number of threads bound together, according to the pattern, and according to the use the cloths are put to.

Besides the *gĕringsings* proper, another kind of cloth, the so-called *sampĕt*, is also made in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. The *sampĕt* is a small white or yellow circular-woven *kain*. The white sort serves as a sash, *sabuk tubuhan*, which is part of the compulsory dress for meetings. These are the only fabrics woven in the *desa*. The *kain lilit* or *kamběn gantih* belonging to the *adat* costume of the girls is made in Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Pasĕdahan.

Music, dance, and drama are little developed in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕ- 53
ringsingan. Of the many Balinese plays the only ones known in the *desa* are the *Chalon Arang*, the renowned witch play, which has a more or less religious character, and the *gambuh*. Of the dances, the *legong* and the *barong* are new in the village and the *gandrung* and the *joged*, two dances which give the Balinese an opportunity to reveal their worst side, are forbidden. Consequently when in earlier times the rulers of Karangasĕm passed the night in the village they had to provide their own dancing girls and boys, for the *desa* could not supply them. The *desa* does not own a wayang set, nor is the wayang performed there.

Since music is used on Bali almost exclusively as an accompani- 533
ment to drama and the dance, it is understandable that the number of orchestras is also small. The *desa* owns a *gamĕlan gong*,

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533 which is under the care of the immigrants in the *banjar* of Pande, and each of the three boys' associations owns a *gamĕlan sĕlunding*, which may be brought out only at full moon. The *sĕlunding* belonging to the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association is particularly sacred, and is said to have descended directly from heaven. The iron keys are not fastened to the base, nor do they have any eyes with which they can be attached, as other *gamĕlans* do. The *legong* association, founded by the juvenile section of the boys (the *tĕruna nyoman*) has a *sĕmar pĕgulingan* orchestra. Finally there are two *gambang* orchestras, and one *gambuh* ensemble.

534 What attracted my attention most, however, was a coconut-shell *gamĕlan*, since I had never seen such a thing anywhere else on Bali. In a shed in the *banjar* of Pande I discovered a collection of coconut shells on strings in the rafters, and when they were got down at my request they proved to constitute three *gambangs* with coconut shells as sounding boxes instead of the usual bamboo tubes. I had elsewhere seen that bamboos were sometimes suspended under the keys instead of being fastened, but I had never seen coconut shells used for the purpose. The full orchestra consists of two *gambangs* with ten keys and one with four. Together they are called a *gĕlunggangan*, and are played to the accompaniment of two drums. The orchestra makes a very simple impression reminiscent of the African marimba or the Bantu pumpkin piano. My scribe was immediately able to pick out the tones of the Badung *rindik*. . Later I found such orchestras in other villages in Karangasĕm as well.[16]

212 The art of reading and writing is quite generally known in Tĕnganan, despite the fact that none of the children from the *desa* attend public or village schools. In the village itself there is a certain amount of instruction of the youngest section of the boys' associations, by their *guru*, as part of their religious education, but the high percentage of literacy is to be attributed primarily to the interest in the old *lontar* writings.

524 In closing, attention may also be called to the fact that children's games such as spinning tops, playing ball, and flying kites are subject to various regulations and prohibitions.

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Chapter Two

Legal Communities in Tĕnganan

In Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan there are three kinds of legal communities: (1) the territorial communities with compulsory membership (the *desa* and the *banjar:* it is true that membership is by invitation, but refusal means complete loss of rights), (2) the non-territorial communities to which one belongs by birth (the young people's associations and the *tempek* or *pauman*), and (3) the communities formed by a free compact of individuals (irrigation associations, the *sĕkaha patus*, and music and dance associations).

I

Territorial Communities

THE DESA

The *desa* is the supreme community, which devotes itself to the service of the gods, summoning the whole population to cooperate for the purpose. Except on the occasion of a few specific religious ceremonies it is impossible for elements from outside the *desa* to participate. Anyone who marries a man or woman who is not from the village and thus acquires alien family ties loses all rights in the *desa* and must either live in the immigrant *banjar* of Pande or in Kĕstala, the hamlet for exiles. Shortcomings towards the *desa* are considered as shortcomings towards the gods, and those guilty of them are punished, often by being stripped of all their possessions and set outside the village. The Tĕngananese begin to prepare themselves for the service of the gods as children, as adolescent boys and girls they go through a whole course of training, and as married men and women they are expected to fulfil all religious obligations – a difficult task, as will be seen.

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621 The word *desa* is used to indicate three different notions. In the first place it designates the residential village lying within the *desa* gates on the south, east, and north sides and the Pandĕk River on the west side (where there was also such a *desa* gate in earlier times). In the second place it signifies the village authority, jointly exercised by the citizenry, inclusive of the *desa* officials. And in the third place it indicates every member of the village association.

The whole territory of the *desa*, whose boundaries on every side are carefully defined in the village constitution, is referred to as *payar*, *wĕwĕngkon*, *pĕrbumian desa*, or *palasan desa*. Inside the *pĕrbumian desa* lies the *payar* of the *desa* of Gumung, a daughter *desa* of Bungaya which does not have a *bale agung* of its own, though it does have a *pura desa*, a *pura puséh*, and a *pura dalĕm*. The Tĕngananese own a large share of the lands inside the *payar* of Gumung. These lands are held permanently under Tĕngananese right of disposal, but are operated by people of Gumung, who as a result are in something of a dependent position to the Tĕngananese. The people of Gumung are answerable for unpunished crimes committed within their *payar*. For the rest, however, Gumung has nothing to do with Tĕnganan. Its inhabitants perform *desa* services at Bungaya and participate in the *usaba* in the *bale agung* there. They owe no levies or services to the *desa* of Tĕnganan.

421 The *banjar* of Kĕstala also has a *payar* of its own, but the inhabitants do not own any of the lands there except their dwelling compounds, and work the *sawahs* owned by Tĕngananese. Persons from Kĕstala do own lands outside the village boundaries of Tĕnganan, however. Originally Kĕstala was intended as a border guard against Sibĕtan. Later Tĕnganan used the settlement as a place of exile for violators of the *desa adat* who could not be tolerated in the *banjar* of Pande. Administratively Gumung comes under Tĕnganan, and Kĕstala under Sibĕtan (which is to be changed, since the hamlet now falls under a different district head from the one over Tĕnganan).

The *desa* of Tĕnganan is clearly to be considered as one of the wealthiest in all of Bali. It has already been pointed out that it has at its disposition an extraordinarily large village territory. Most

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of the *sawahs* can be considered as communal lands, with a part of them being divided annually among the core villagers in the form of villager's shares, and the remainder used to cover offering expenses. Besides the agrarian holdings the two series of graveyards (*sĕma*) to the east and the west of the eastern *desa* gate attract special attention. They all belong to the *desa*, though the names *sĕma tĕruna* and *sĕma dĕha* (also called *pĕbajangan*) might lead one to suspect that the boys' and girls' associations owned their own graveyards.

Tĕnganan's forum is the *bale agung*. As elsewhere in southern Bali, the long pavilion is used for religious purposes,[1] but in Tĕnganan village meetings are held there as well. True, such meetings must also be considered more or less as religious ceremonies, both because of the ritual followed and because of the religious task of the *desa*, but when the occasion presents itself secular affairs, too, are discussed there. In Tĕnganan, as in other villages in Karangasĕm, the gigantic pavilion, which is also called *pura pusĕh*, is a very model of sound construction. The stone foundation is no less than one hundred sixty-five feet long and sixteen feet wide. The heavy sugar-palm fibre roof rests on twenty-eight massive columns joined together by crossbeams. Above one of these beams there is a carving of a seated animal figure, and underneath it a chronogram (*chandra sĕngkala*) with the caption: "Completed this day, Wednesday-Wage of the week of Mĕnahil, the sixth day of the tenth month, 1806 *Çāka*". The pavilion was rebuilt forty-three years after the great fire mentioned in the village constitution and eight years after the second fire of 1798 *Çāka* (1876 A.D.), and so is almost fifty years old. Neither the woodwork nor the roof has needed any repair in that period. A part of the pavilion, between the third and fifth pair of columns, is partitioned off as a storeroom (*gĕdong bale agung*), but the walls are removable and are taken out for meetings. At such times all the *desa* possessions stored there are put out on display, and it is there that the *desa* officials are seated. The *desa* possessions consist of the various requisites for offerings and tobacco, but also, and more particularly, of the *desa* strongboxes (*biduk*) filled to the brim with coins, and

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the village records. The ceremonial swings used at certain annual festivals are also kept in the *bale agung*, which is decorated with pig's skulls. It should moreover be mentioned that all *desa* members are required to sleep in the *bale agung* for three nights each in the first (Kasa) and the fifth (Kalima) month and one night in the tenth month (Kadasa), at which time the *dewa pusĕh* resides there. The rice from the village *sawahs* is kept in a separate granary.

To the north of the *bale agung* is the *bale kulkul*, where the village's signal block hangs. To the east of the pavilion's north end are the *sanggah uduan*, an offering niche overshadowed by a white frangipane tree (*jĕpun*), and nearby it the *bale* (*pĕ*)*kĕncha*, the 'courthouse'. To the west of the southern end is a spacious kitchen (*paon*) and pantry (*gĕdong paon*).

In a large number of Balinese *desas* the *bale agung* is located inside or in front of the *pura desa*, which is frequently joined together with the *pura pusĕh*. This is not the case in Tĕnganan, but the fact that the *bale agung* is also sometimes called *pusĕh* indicates that the pavilion forms a single unit with the *pura pusĕh*, even though the former is inside the southern gate of the village, while the latter is in the woods beyond the northern *desa* gate.

The temple which is most important in the eyes of the people after the *bale agung* and the *pura pusĕh* is clearly the *pura pĕkuwon*. It is located just outside the southern *desa* gate and contains the shrines of origin of the various *desa* classes. In this connection it is interesting to note that there are four village *paibons* or *dadias*, in the northwest, the southwest, the southeast, and the northeast. In the rest of Bali *paibon* is another name for the shrine of origin of a clan, but no one seems to know what origin these four *paibons* in Tĕnganan commemorate.[1]

There are a number of other temples with various names: the *pura pĕnataran*, *pura mĕlayu*, *pura gaduh*, *pura pĕtung*, *pura pĕngulon swarga*, *pura rajapurana*, and so forth. The *pura dalĕm*, like the *pura pĕngakan luh*, is merely an offering platform of river stone. The *pura pudak* and *pura bale bang*, though lying within the *desa* territory of Tĕnganan, belong to the inhabitants of the neighbouring

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desa of Ngis. The *pura anyĕr* or 'new temple', the residence of 346
Batara Dalĕm Pĕngastulan, to the north of the *pura puséh* in the
woods, is likewise a place of worship for persons from Ngis, as is
the *pura puséh*.

The *desa* also has several bathing places, of which the *kaja-kauh* 344
one and the one in the Pandĕk River are of importance from a
religious point of view. The pen for the sacrificial buffaloes is
beside the *kaja-kauh* bathing place.

THE BANJAR

The second territorial legal community is the *banjar*, which in 575
Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringingan is not an association competing with
the *desa* in importance, as it is in the rest of southern Bali, but on
the contrary is largely subordinated to the *desa* and in its service.
Within Tĕnganan proper there are three *banjars*, Kauh, Tĕngah,
and Pande. The *banjar* of Tĕngah is divided into two wards,
Tĕngah Kĕlodan and Tĕngah Kajanan. The boundaries are de-
termined by the *desa* sidestreets. Whereas the *desa* has the form
of an association with a varying but restricted number of mem-
bers, the *banjar* includes all inhabitants.

The task of the *banjar*, like that of the *desa*, is partly religious and 575
partly secular. The *banjars* must see to it that the great *usaba* festi- 527
vals of the *desa* take place in an orderly way, and in that regard
they must follow all the commands of the *desa*. Moreover the
banjars make their own offerings in the *bales banjar*, which are not
assembly halls as in the rest of southern Bali, since the *banjars* do
not hold meetings in the village proper.

Other tasks of the *banjars* are the cleansing of the *desa*, especially
the water conduits (the whole *desa* is cleaned up for the *usaba* in
the month of Kalima) and the maintenance of the streets and in-
clines. The proponents of the theory that the *banjar* was originally
nothing more nor less than a cremation association find no sup-
port for their hypothesis in Karangasĕm, where there are a large
number of *banjars* with members who do not practise cremation.
The property of the *banjars* consists of their buildings, offering req-
uisites, and small sums in cash.

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575 The *banjar* of Pande has a *pura pĕmaksan*, and the *pĕmaksan* regulation serves as its *banjar* constitution. Kĕstala has a very large *bale banjar* and temple ground. At the meetings of the *banjar* associations there the members do not gather in a single *bale*, but in various pavilions rather far apart from one another, so that discussions cannot help being more or less tumultuous. The further property of this *banjar*, which is actually a separate settlement, consists of a *pura pusĕh*, a *pura dalĕm*, and a *pura pĕmaksan*. Tĕnganan donated two *sawah* plots for the Kĕstala *pura dalĕm*. The *banjar* also has a *gamĕlan*.

2

Non-Territorial Communities

THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATIONS

575 857 Closely linked to the *desa* are the boys' and girls' associations, the *sĕkahas tĕruna* and *sĕkahas dĕha*, which play an important rôle in *desa* festivals.

There are four boys' associations. The first of them, the *sĕkaha tĕruna nyoman*, serves as a sort of training school for young boys before they can be admitted to active membership in the one of the three older boys' associations which they belong to by virtue of their birth. Those three associations are called the *sĕkaha tĕruna tĕmu kaja*, the *sĕkaha tĕruna tĕmu tĕngah*, and the *sĕkaha tĕruna tĕmu kĕlod*.

The three girls' associations are the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman*, the *sĕkaha dĕha nĕngah*, and the *sĕkaha dĕha wayah*, which names might be taken to imply that the girls were divided according to age (since *nyoman* means youngest, *nĕngah* medium, and *wayah* oldest), but that is not the case. Nor is the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman* a kind of training school for the other two associations as is the case with the *sĕkaha tĕruna nyoman*.

The task of the latter association is to prepare a boy for the state of adolescence. This preparation begins with a pilgrimage to various temples, an apprenticeship in the home of his *guru*, and the making of courtesy visits to the girls, who are given gifts of

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betel and sweets. The association has its own regulations and treasury. 575 857

The other boys' associations and the girls' associations help the *desa* in preparing and celebrating the *usaba* festivals, at which the girls appear as *rějangs* or dancing girls. The dancing of the boys is called *mĕbuang*. For their help to the *desa* at the time of the *usaba* in Kalima they are rewarded with the *lĕluputan*, a gift in paddy and money which goes into the associations' treasuries.

For the past forty years the boys' associations have owned a plot of land which the *desa* gave them as payment for roofing the new *bale agung*. Each of the boys' associations also has its own assembly and offering pavilion or *bale pĕtĕmuan*, which is also called *bale agung* in village writings and competes with the *bale agung desa* in beauty. Also in each of these pavilions there is a carved animal figure above one of the crossbeams of the roof. As has already been mentioned, each of the boys' associations also has an iron *gamĕlan sĕlunding*. [332]

The resources of these associations are kept at their *subak*, that is to say the house of a married man who has a daughter and a son and has held the post of *pěnyarikan* in the *desa* administration. Since for the *sĕkaha tĕruna tĕmu kĕlod* no such person was to be found in the *sangyang tĕngĕn* class (a requirement in that *sĕkaha*), the association's resources are kept in the upper part of the *bale pĕtĕmuan*, which has been rebuilt into a strong storage place.

Though the young people's associations cannot refuse a request of the *desa* for help, they are completely independent as regards their resources. For example, the *desa* has to borrow the *gamĕlan sĕlunding* on festive occasions, while on the other hand it sometimes lends money to the boys' associations. The girls meet in their *gantih* or *subak*, which must fulfil the same requirements as the *subak* for the boys' associations.

No people from the *banjar* of Pande take part in the young people's associations, since there are no members of the *desa* association living in the *banjar*. In the *banjar* of Kĕstala, though there are no young people's associations there is a custom that young girls present the offerings, dancing as *rějangs*.

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THE TEMPEKS

575 In southern Bali the *banjars* are divided in *tempeks* or neighbourhoods, which as a rule are not legal communities. However, in Karangasĕm, and also in the *desa* of Tĕnganan, the term *tempek* or *pauman* is used to designate a legal community comprising everyone obliged to attend the ruler. In Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan there are two of these groups, the *tempekan kaja* and the *tempekan kĕlod*. In this case *kaja* (north) and *kĕlod* (south) do not have any territorial significance, since the members of each group are scattered throughout the village, but refer to the location of the *klihan*'s house. Though the task of these associations is exclusively that of providing palm and young coconut leaves to the court and performing court services, they play a significant rôle in the *desa* in that the hereditary post of *klihan tempek* apparently endows the holder with such pre-eminence that he has an important judiciary task.

The property of each of these two associations, both of which have members in the *banjar* of Pande, consists of two *sawahs* whose yield is used to supply persons going to do service at the capital with provisions for the journey. Whatever may be left over goes into the *tempek* treasury, which derives funds from fines and entrance fees as well. There is also a *tempek* in the *banjar* of Kĕstala, which owns several *sawahs* outside the territory of Tĕnganan.

575 The *desa*, the *banjars*, the young people's associations, and the
621 *tempeks* are all legal communities with compulsory membership – that is to say, a person who meets membership requirements cannot refuse to join them when he is requested to do so, unless he wishes to live on almost completely without rights.

Such associations serve the general interests of the village and the ruler. Besides them there are on Bali a large number of voluntary associations to meet individual needs. Van Stein Callenfels says regarding Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, "Club life, which is highly developed on Bali in general, would appear to have reached an extraordinary level in Tĕnganan ..."[3] As I had earlier presumed,[4] this is incorrect. The village constitution forbids the creation of

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new associations other than *sawah* associations, and 'club life' is, accordingly, very restricted.

3

Voluntary Associations

SAWAH ASSOCIATIONS

It is clear from the above stipulation in the village constitution that the *sawah* associations are considered as voluntary associations. They are, in fact, not only private, but often temporary in character.

In Tĕnganan the notion does not obtain that the water belongs to the gods or to the ruler. Like the *sawah*-association temple, it is a possession of the ground. Hence anyone who owns land also has water, though it must be dammed up in the river and conducted to the *sawahs*. The irrigation system in Tĕnganan is still in the small-scale stage. Various complexes of farmland inside the *desa* were gradually made irrigable, independently of one another. The result is a large number of weirs quite close to each other which have the advantage of requiring only a small amount of labour to be repaired and maintained each year. The limited number of workers on the weirs means that no elaborate organization is necessary, especially since the persons operating the land have only a temporary interest in it: the Tĕngananese proper are forbidden to work in the ricefields, so that the offering *sawahs* of the *desa* and the membership shares and private *sawahs* of the core villagers are farmed by other people on shares. The fields are usually awarded to sharecroppers (*pĕnyakaps*) in whole complexes or *chariks* drawing their irrigation water simultaneously from one conduit, and to sharecropper associations called *sĕkahas pĕnyakap*.

Hence there are on the one hand the holders of the *sawahs* in a *charik*, organized in a *sĕkaha charik*, and on the other the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap*, consisting of all or part of the persons working the *sawahs* of the *sĕkaha charik* and looking after the waterworks.

There are fourteen *chariks* in the village territory of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, seven to the northeast of the Buhu River and

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seven to the southwest of it. The names of those in the first group (followed in parentheses by the weir irrigating them) are Mĕkahang (Mĕkahang), Pĕndusan (Pĕndusan), Nungnungan Kĕlod (Nungnungan Kĕlod), Nungnungan Kaler (Nungnungan Kangin), Sangkawan (Sangkawan), Sangkanginan (Sangkawan), and Yeh Singa (Sangkawan). The names of those in the second group are Yeh Buah (Yeh Buah), Kiskis (Kiskis), Den Umah (Den Umah), Tĕlĕpas (Babitunu), Babitunu (Babitunu), Naga Sungsang (Naga Sungsang), and Umatĕgal (Naga Sungsang).

Six of the *chariks* are said to belong to the *desa:* Mĕkahang, Pĕndusan, Nungnungan, Yeh Buah, Kiskis, and Den Umah. Nungnungan and Yeh Buah consist entirely of offering *sawahs*, and the other four comprise the membership shares of the core villagers, unless some *sawahs* are not awarded because of the small number of eligible holders, in which case the surplus is added to the offering lands.

The *sawahs* are rented out on shares (*nyakap*) to the *sĭkahas pĕnyakap*. Sangkawan, for example, is rented to the *sĭkaha banjar* of Kĕstala, and Sangkanginan to the *sĭkaha pura dadia* of Kĕstala. This sharecropper's right can be withdrawn after the harvest (as has happened in the case of the *sĭkaha desa* of Gumung), hence the *sĭkaha pĕnyakap* has no permanent interest in the lands. For this reason it seldom makes any large-scale improvements in the irrigation works, and such improvements generally have to be financed by the *sĭkaha charik*. The tunnels in the village territory, for example, were built by people from Kĕstala and Gumung in return for wages.

The power in the *charik* is concentrated in the *sĭkaha toya*, whose members are called *sinomans*. The administration consists of three *klihans:* a *klihan sĭkaha* or *subak*, a *pĕnyarikan*, and a *saya*. This administration is assisted by two criers chosen from among the members in monthly rotation. The *sĭkaha pĕnyakap* rarely convenes its meetings in the irrigation-association temple or *bĕdugul*, which is considered as belonging to the ground; usually they are held in a temple of the members of the *sĭkaha*. The *sĭkaha pĕnyakap* of Sangkanginan, for example, meets on Saturday-Klion in the

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pura dadia. Members are not allowed to appoint delegates to the meetings. 241 476 575

The task of the *klihan sĕkaha* or *subak* consists of presiding over the assemblies. Before the meeting he starts a water clock, and he strikes the signal block when the meeting begins. Then he gives an account of his management of the finances by displaying the cash on hand, which must correspond to the balance in the *pĕnyarikan*'s books. If there is a shortage he must provide a pawn and pay at the rate of 'five per two hundred'. Next he announces the division of labour and charges the *saya* to inform the members of the decisions taken. Though elsewhere the *saya* is required to provide for the requisites of the meeting, in these meetings that is the task of the criers. If the waterworks are in need of small-scale repairs, the *subak* can appoint a part of the members to perform them, with a record being kept of the assignment.

The three *klihans* are together responsible for the weir, the conduits, and the system of ditches. They measure the water shares of the members with a bamboo cylinder. In dividing the water from a single weir over more than one *charik* the officials of the *chariks* concerned consult with each other. This is easier when the *chariks* involved have a joint *klihan sĕkaha*, as is the case for Sangkawan and Sangkanginan. There the *klihan* also has the task of seeing that both *chariks* get the water they need at the right time, since the Sangkawan weir moreover provides water to the irrigation association in the *desa* of Bungaya, which uses two-thirds of all the water from the weir. Only one-third goes to the two *chariks*, and that is not enough for the whole territory at the same time, so that Sangkawan obtains the water in the fourth month (Kapat) and Sangkanginan in the ninth month (Kasanga).

If the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* is not able to undertake large-scale repairs on its weir by itself, it asks the assistance of the *sĕkaha charik*, which requests help from the whole *desa* if need be.

The three *klihans sĕkaha*, after having a favourable day determined for the beginning of planting, must set the example by starting planting themselves. Anyone who fails to give ear to the announcement to begin to plant is fined a hundred twenty-five

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doits. The three *klihans* also direct the three important agrarian offerings: when the paddy is a month old, when it is almost ready to be harvested, and when the *nini*, the rice mother, is celebrated. The income of the *sĕkaha toya* consists primarily of fines, interest on money lent out, and *pĕngohot*. The monthly interest on money lent amounts to three doits per two hundred if a pawn is provided (to be sold if the money is not repaid), and six doits per two hundred when there is no such pawn. The *pĕngohot* is paid by members who use the irrigation water without helping to maintain the weir and the conduits. Since the *sĕkaha toya* is a voluntary association and *pĕnyakaps* are not obliged to become members, there are also people who have to pay for the use of water. This payment is made in rice, and amounts to twice the amount of paddy needed to seed the plot irrigated. The officials do not enjoy a larger share of the water, as they do elsewhere on Bali,[4] but only extra portions of the offering foods.

The task of the *klihans* of the *sĕkaha charik* consists merely of supervising the turning in of the shares of rice coming to the members of their associations. Their incomes consist of one sheaf of paddy per *tĕnah* (a unit of land planted from one handful of seedlings, roughly an acre) harvested, which sheaves are left in the field for them.

PATUS ASSOCIATIONS

The chief task of the southern Balinese *banjar* consists in the organization of cremations, with the members being required to perform certain services and make certain contributions (*patus*). In various parts of Karangasĕm, however, the term *patus* connotes all sorts of contributions, including those on such occasions as tooth-filing and marriage. In any number of Karangasĕm *banjars* persons who cremate their dead and persons who do not live mixed together, and in that case the cremation association is smaller than the *banjar* association. This is, for example, the case in the *banjar* of Pande. In the *banjar* of Kĕstala there is, besides the *banjar* association (which is also a *sĕkaha patus* in the broader sense), the *sĕkaha bĕdigul*, the cremation association, which supplements the

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task of the *patus* association for members who cremate their dead. The members of the *desa* of Tĕnganan proper do not cremate their dead and have no *patus* association.

DRAMA AND MUSIC ASSOCIATIONS

The prohibition in the *desa* constitution has been an obstacle to the rise of drama and music associations. In earlier times the stipulation was considered as an absolute prohibition, but recently the idea has developed that such associations may be founded, though the *desa* considers them as non-existent and does not arbitrate in case of differences. In Western terms one might say that the *desa* refuses to recognize their corporate capacity. The associations arising on this basis lead a languishing existence in Tĕnganan.

In Kĕstala the situation is quite the opposite. There the fact that the *bale kulkul* is a shed with a whole series of signal blocks is enough to indicate that there are a number of associations. Besides the *patus*, *bĕdigul*, and *pĕnyakap* associations mentioned above, there are also several music associations, including a *sĕkaha angklung*, which uses traditional bamboo instruments.

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Chapter Three

CLASS AND STATUS

565 The full-fledged citizenry of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan can be subdivided in two ways: according to class and according to age and marital status. For the legal position of the individual the second grouping is far more important, since class privileges are little in evidence.

In Tĕnganan there are five classes, the *pancha wangsa*, with each class consisting of a right and a left flank (*panĕngĕn*, from *tĕngĕn* or 'right', and *pĕngiwa*, from *kiwa* or 'left'). This division into right and left halves is to be found in the *desa* again and again, though in a few cases it has given way to a division into east and west. The names of the classes are as follows:

	PANĔNGĔN	PĔNGIWA
1	*sangyang* (*tĕngĕn*)	*ijĕng* (*sangyang kiwa*)
2	*batuguling mage*	*batuguling*
3	*prajurit*	*tombak buluh*
4	*pande wesi*	*pande mas*
5	*pasĕk*	*bindesa*

Not a great deal more could be learnt regarding these classes. In earlier times the *desa* had *prasastis* recounting the origin of the classes, but they were lost in the great fire of 1876.

It is certain that the *sangyang* and *ijĕng*, which the Tĕngananese compare with Brahma and Wisnu respectively, are held in the greatest respect: they are the custodians of the occult fields of learning and the experts in *desa adat* and history. The left and right *sangyang* groups are the successors of the two historical figures who, according to Balinese tradition, established religion and the pattern of village organization on the island: Sang Kulputih and Ĕmpu Kuturan. The *sangyang* are considered to represent Sang Kulputih and the *ijĕng* Ĕmpu Kuturan.

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The *de mangku* is required to be a *sangyang*, and to have reached at least the rank of *luanan* in the *desa* administration. Since no living member of the *sangyang* has yet attained such a high rank, however, the post has been vacant for years. Nonetheless a compound with all the customary compound buildings is maintained for him. (The same is the case for the *de ngijĕng*, for whom a place is also left open at important religious ceremonies.) According to the village constitution the *de mangku* has a right to seven compounds, but since no one has occupied the post for so long only one of the seven is maintained. At the offering meetings, however, seven portions of the offering foods are still set out for him. If there is a *de mangku* he must serve as *subak* for the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association, though otherwise that *subak* may be chosen from the *batuguling maga* group. The *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman* should by preference also come from the *sangyang* group, though an *ijĕng* may also fill such a function if need be. In fact there does not seem to be any prohibition against members of other classes taking up the function of *guru*, and it has been done twice; in each case, however, the *guru* died an early and violent death, while his pupils were plagued by misfortune to the end of their lives.

Though the leaders of the religious ceremonies in the village temples, who are also custodians of the religious mysteries, come from the *sangyang* group, the word *mangku* in this *desa* must not be given a significance of 'temple guardian' such as is attributed to the term *pĕmangku* in the rest of Bali. The *de mangku* is viewed rather as the village ruler (compare the *mangkubumi*, the vizier of the Malay principalities on the east coast of Sumatra),[1] the agrarian founder, who is thus also the obvious person to have charge over unoccupied plots of land (in this sense comparable to the *mangku bumi* in the Javanese principalities, the supervisor of agricultural affairs,[2] but even more to the *mĕramba mangu tanah* of Sumba[3] and the *tuan tanah* of the Kai Islands[4]). Even aside from his control of *desa* lands, the *de mangku* is clearly the largest landowner. It is also his task to lend material assistance to the poor.

The *ijĕng* or *sangyang kiwa* group traditionally provides the village with another official, the *subak desa* or *de ngijĕng*. (The *ng-* is added

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for purposes of liaison in the combination of the title *de* with *ijĕng*.)

Only an *ijĕng* who has already sounded the signal block in the *desa*, that is to say has been *pĕnyarikan desa*, comes into consideration for this post. Since there is no such person available, this office, too, is vacant. One of the *desa* members of the *ijĕng* group had almost reached the rank of *pĕnyarikan* when his wife took to trading in public, which forced him to resign as a member of the *desa*. Though he as a result does not hold the post of *subak desa*, he is nonetheless known as *de ngijĕng*. He is an authority on *desa* customs and history and knows practically the whole *desa* constitution by heart. (He was, however, very chary with his knowledge.)

The *pande* class and the *pasĕk* and *bĕndesa* groups are supposedly not descended from the original inhabitants of the village, but they have their own heap of stones in the *pura pĕkuwon*. There are no longer any *pandes mas*, literally 'goldsmiths', in the village: the earlier representatives of the group moved to the *desa* of Bratan in Buleleng, since they remembered their long-standing kinship with the *pandes* living there. There are still *pandes wĕsi*, but none of them practises the craft of blacksmith.

It is remarkable that while in the rest of Bali the *pasĕks* and *bĕndesas* are viewed as the highest groups among the *sudras*,[1] here they are at the bottom. The *pasĕks* consider themselves to be related to their namesakes in other *desas*, and go to worship with them in certain temples, for example at Pura Dasar Gelgel in Klungkung. However, they do not cremate their dead, and (though it is not quite clear to me why) the Tĕngananese have more respect for the *pasĕks* from other villages who do practise cremation. Consequently the official post of *pasĕk* in the *desa* is filled by a *pasĕk* from the neighbouring village of Ngis. The other classes play no special rôle in the *desa*.

If one asks a Tĕngananese which class he belongs to, unless he is a *sangyang* he will answer that he does not know, or that others have told him that he belongs to this or that class. If one then checks with those others, they in turn will declare that they may not express an opinion on someone else's class. This same phenomenon is found throughout Bali in regard to the caste system.

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There are no special privileges attached to a position in the higher classes. Nor is a more courteous language used towards higher-class persons, except that the *sangyangs* have a right to the title of *de* (perhaps an abbreviation of *gĕde*).[6] Members of each class have their own places of burial in specified graveyards divided into a right-hand (eastern) and a left-hand (western) series on either side of the eastern gate; the division, however, does not correspond completely to that of the classes into *panĕngĕn* and *pĕngiwa*.

The *sangyangs* and *prajurits* are not allowed to eat millet, cane sugar, or bread-fruit, nor may they kill turtle-doves or two kinds of salt-water fish or cut *pungut* trees. In a land like Bali, with its far-going subdivision in classes and castes, the number of such prohibitions is countless, since every group has its own. The explanation usually given is that members of a certain class or caste have an obligation to the prohibited animal or plant because of a service it had rendered an ancestor.[7] In the case of Tĕnganan this is true of the two kinds of fish, which are considered as the defenders of the Tĕngananese coast.[8] However, the turtle-dove is prohibited because Batara Indra assumed the shape of that bird in order to travel swiftly from Jambudwipa (India) to Bali, while the prohibited plants mentioned served as food for him, and the *pungut* tree as a resting place.

It is not prohibited for men to marry women of a higher class, but such marriages are usually frowned upon; especially the choice of a wife from one of the *sangyang* groups by a man of a lower class is looked upon as ill-fated, since such people die an early death. In case of such mixed marriages the wife joins the class of her husband and is also buried in the graveyard of his class, while the children, too, follow their father's class. However, such mixed marriages never lead to a breaking of ties with her family or a loss of family rights.

In the period before the twentieth century the *sangyang* and *ijĕng* groups were exempt from services to the ruler.

The second method of dividing the population, according to age and marital status, is related to some extent to the division into

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732 561 classes. From the very outset the second division is of no significance to persons whose bodies are deformed in any way (*chedangga*), that is to say those who have festers under the nails,[9] crooked arms,[10] a big toe that is twisted back,[11] poor sight or blindness,[12] goitre,[13] or similar physical defects. They are not considered as persons to be despised, but are viewed as unsuitable for the service of the gods, and hence for that of the *desa*. They must be distinguished from the persons with certain specific contagious diseases who are banished from the village.

852 561 562 At his birth the new citizen of Tĕnganan is, like his mother, impure. He may not go to the northwestern bathing place with his mother until his ears have been pierced. The rituals of piercing his ears, cutting his hair, and filing his teeth, each of them accompanied by the presentation of offerings, gradually make him fit to begin participating in the public life of the *desa*, which takes place around his seventh year. At that time he joins together with several other boys of the same age in the fifth month, Kalima, and from then until the eighth month, Kaulu, the months when most offerings are made, they help the boys' associations with their work in connection with the festivities. In Kaulu this initial period comes to an end, and the group chooses officers. The next year, in Karo or Katiga, the second and third month, the group goes on an expedition every third night to one of the temples in the *desa* territory, beginning with the *pura puséh* and ending with Chandi Dasa. On such expeditions the boys, with a small creese in their girdles, must take care that other people do not detect them on their way to the temple and back, and they quickly hide whenever someone is approaching. If a person does catch sight of the children he pretends not to have seen them and softly mumbles a prayer that they may finish their expedition undisturbed. During their pious travels they pray to the deity that they may be able to conclude their apprenticeship at their *guru*'s without interruption and that they may become familiar with *adat* and *agama*. On a favourable day in Kaulu, the eighth month, they go to live for a year in their *guru*'s house. On first entering the house they make an offering at the door.

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The boys are actually only called *tĕruna nyoman* once their parents have taken offerings to the *guru*. The *guru* and the pupils fan the offerings while reciting a prayer, then the pupils eat the remains of the offerings. After this prayer the *guru* and the members of the three older boys' associations take the *tĕrunas nyoman* to meet the village girls for the first time. Beforehand they prepare betel and the accompanying requisites, sugar, salt, and fruits to present to the girls. (It should be pointed out that the activities of all the *tĕruna* associations consist to a large extent in forming bonds of friendship with the girls.) On this first visit the young boys must be hidden from the eyes of the girls and may not be seen by anyone on the street except the other *tĕrunas*. The visit takes place in the evening, and when the boys leave their *guru*'s home a little house plaited of split bamboo and open only at the bottom is shoved close to the compound gate. The boys scurry under it and the *pĕngawins*, the boys who were *tĕrunas nyoman* the time before, carry the house slowly while the boys of the new group walk along inside it.

The members of the girls' associations sit arranged around their officers in the *bale buga* of each group's meeting place, with the lamp, the deity, above them. They are clad in their meeting costumes, a long striped red sarong and a *gĕringsing* breastcloth, and welcome the procession with a pleasant smile. The *guru* and the *pĕngawins* declare in ornate language that the juvenile section of the Tĕngananese youth has come to pay its respects. The *tĕrunas nyoman* themselves may not laugh or make a sound.

The *pĕngawins* have beforehand taken a supply of mud to each *subak*. While the girls recite secret incantations each of the *pĕngawins* in turn tosses handfuls of mud towards the girls' officers in an underarm movement with the left hand from a distance of two fathoms. This mudslinging goes on as long as the girls continue reciting. It is forbidden to hit higher than the shoulder or to strike the lamp, and violations are fined, but the ceremony has degenerated into an occasion to tease the girls, and little attention is paid to the prohibitions: the most fun of all is to throw the lamp out. This ceremony is repeated in each of the three *subaks*,

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852 and is held again on two favourable days in the latter half of the
561 same month.

562 The next month, Kasanga, the three girls' associations pay a counter-visit, bringing gifts to the house of the *guru* of the *tĕrunas nyoman*, each association on its own day. These ceremonial visits back and forth are then repeated at set times.

554 The *tĕrunas nyoman* continue to live with their *guru* for a year,
86 passing the night in his *bale buga*. His instruction includes *adat*,
561 religious stipulations, and secret incantations that may not be
562 revealed to anyone from outside the *desa* or set down in writing.
875 But also ordinary school subjects such as reading, arithmetic, and knowledge of the *kidungs*, Old Javanese writings, and chronology are taught, in as far as the *guru* has the knowledge to teach them.

593 The parents do not have to pay any expenses or school fees for this stay at the *guru*'s house, and are only responsible for providing the boys with food. The boys themselves, however, have to spend
431 quite a bit on gifts for the girls, so that at the beginning of the period they need to borrow money, to be repaid by the year's end. Consequently the pupils spend their free time doing all sorts of odd jobs for money to be saved in their treasury. At the end of the period they use this money to pay their debts, and the surplus is divided equally.

During their apprenticeship the *tĕrunas nyoman* must follow their *guru*'s commands and the constitution of their association strictly. The latter describes some of the boys' obligations – for example they must stand watch at their *guru*'s house, armed with a creese and a blowpipe, they must set his betel ready and go with him to the bathing place, and they must accompany the village girls on their processions. And it lists certain regulations regarding propriety in clothing, speech, and behaviour. They may not enter the *guru*'s sleeping place, visit their parents' home without permission, nor return to the *guru*'s dwelling after midnight. They are also prohibited to cross the Buhu River during their apprenticeship. Violations are punished by a warning or a fine of thirty-three, sixty-six, or a hundred doits. Three warnings are followed by a fine of thirty-three doits.

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Around one o'clock in the afternoon of the sixth day of Kaulu the *tĕrunas nyoman* are declared proficient, *tamat*. For the occasion they assemble at their *guru*'s house, each of them dressed in a brand-new *kain* and headcloth, with a *gĕringsing* as a shawl, and a white *gĕringsing* sash over it, a frangipane flower behind the ears, and a creese in the girdle. The older boys dress the lads.

Once they are dressed they arrange themselves in a double row in front of the *guru*'s house, then proceed southward to the *subak* of the *dĕha wayah*, shouting loudly. There they check whether all the girls of the association are present. If one is lacking they fetch her from her home, the girl in the middle of the procession and the boys shouting all around her.

Once the girls are all present the *tĕrunas nyoman* go back to the *guru*, who has meanwhile donned his *adat* costume (*gĕringsing*, white sash, and creese, but no headcloth – instead he wears his hair in a priestly knot). The *tĕrunas nyoman* lead him outside and then follow him as he conducts them to one after the other of the *subaks* of the three girls' associations, where he announces to the girls that his pupils have concluded their study as *tĕruna nyoman* and will now continue their upbringing in one of the three older boys' associations.

The ceremonial is as follows. The *guru* seats himself in the *bale buga* with his face turned to the south, and all the *tĕrunas nyoman* sit on mats on the ground with their faces towards the *guru*. The *subak dĕha* hands the *guru* a roll of betel, which he chews with his face turned towards his pupils, thus cast downwards, and grasping the beams of the *bale buga* with one hand he addresses the *tĕrunas nyoman*, beginning as follows: "Hear, all you *tĕrunas nyoman*, it can now be said that you have ended your time of learning with your *ĕmpu;* that you like the birds, have wings to fly with. Where there are people wiser than I – go there to learn." Then he expresses the hope that they will not later put him to shame by misbehaving, and especially by violating the regulations laid down by *adat*.

The *tĕrunas nyoman* answer in chorus: "Aye, it is as you say. We have great respect for you; if there is later any work that you

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86 562 852 875 want to have done, charge us, your pupils, with it: we shall faithfully follow your commands by working for you." Then they all perform a *sĕmbah* before the *guru*, and various of them are unable to hide their emotion. Next the girls recite a prayer of thanks to the deity that the boys have concluded their period of learning without misfortune.

Then follows a charming ceremony. The girls say to the boys: "Come, all of you, chew some betel, there are the requisites", and they indicate a full betel box in the corner of the *bale sakanĕm*. The boys have to fetch the box, but in doing so they must continue to touch the edge of the candle-nut chest in the diagonally opposite corner of the *bale* with their toes. If they cannot reach so far lying on their stomachs they are permitted to jab in the box with their creese handle and in that way pull it towards them. Then each of them takes a betel leaf, chews on it a few times, and spits out the half-chewed leaf, after which a quid is chewed in the usual way. This concludes the ceremony.

There is an interesting comparison between the *tĕrunas nyoman* and moths. While the boys are busy with their temple expeditions they are called 'eggs', once they are in their *guru*'s house they are called 'pupae', and when the *guru* declares their period of learning ended this is called 'hatching'.

From the very beginning these boys are considered to belong to the boys' association their father belonged to. At the same time, however, they are the *pĕngawins* of the *tĕrunas nyoman* for the next year. Since all *tĕrunas* are present at the ceremonies for the *tĕrunas nyoman* there is constant contact between the younger and older groups of boys. The *tĕrunas* of the three associations also provide four officials of the *sĕkaha tĕruna nyoman* who have the task of helping to maintain order and of settling difficulties.

565 575 562 There is a certain connection between the three older boys' associations and the classes in the *desa*, since the *tĕruna tĕmu kaja* consists of the boys of the *sangyang*, *prajurit*, *pande*, and *bĕndesa* groups, the *tĕruna tĕmu tĕngah* of those of the *ĕmbak buluh* and the *pasĕk*, and the *tĕruna tĕmu kĕlod* those of the *ijĕng* and the two *batuguling* groups. Each of the associations has its own assembly hall,

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where the members are required to pass the night at specified times of the year.

Complementing the boys' associations are the three girls' associations. The girls – who must lead very retired lives, are not allowed to go outside the compound gate unaccompanied even during the daytime until they are engaged, and may not do any trading at the risk of being expelled from the association – do not have a preliminary training such as the young boys, nor do they have a *guru*. Nonetheless they are all able to read. Without any preliminaries, they each become a member of one of the three associations, the same one their mother belonged to.

Between the boys' associations and two of the girls' associations there is a tie called *mĕwarang*. This tie exists between the *tĕmu-kaja* and *tĕmu-tĕngah* boys' associations and the *sĕkaha dĕha nyoman*, and between the *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys' association and the *sĕkaha dĕha nĕngah*. The *tĕmu-kĕlod* boys reportedly earlier asked to be *mĕwarang* with the *dĕha wayah*, but the girls refused. The *mĕwarang* finds expression in mutual aid and the presentation of gifts, and the members of the associations involved address each other as *de warang*. Members of associations which are not *mĕwarang* call each other *sumaningsun*.

Marriage bring the Tĕngananese a step further. Both husband and wife become members of the *desa* association (the women sit on the left side at joint meetings), and the parents of the new couple lose their membership. Marriage, then, more or less upsets the division of the population according to age. In this connection it should be pointed out that in a family a younger son who marries before his elder brother is considered as having changed places with the latter. The tie between the new *desa* members and their young people's associations is maintained, since they become *palaks* of their former associations. The *desa* association and the young people's associations are highly interdependent in other ways as well: for example, during various festivals first the members of the *desa* are treated to a meal by the young people, and then the young people are given a repast by the *desa* members.

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575 The *desa* members, the core villagers, are further distinguished according to the length of their membership. The most recent *desa* members are called *pĕngluduhan*, 'those who are charged'. They sit at the lower end in the *bale agung*. The next group consists of twelve *tambĕlapus*. Then come twelve *bahans*, of which the six eldest are the *klihans bahan*, the *desa* officials in charge of day-to-day affairs who meet every evening in the *bale agung* and hence are also called *klihans desa*. The following group is that of the *klihans luanan*, or *uluanan*, 'those sitting above'. There should be six such dignitaries, including the *subak* (the *de ngijĕng*), but since that post is vacant there are only five. These *klihans* are also called *kĕbayans desa*. There is a still older group, the *klihans gumi*, but they are no longer *desa* members. This group consists of the six oldest persons (counting from the beginning of their *desa* membership) in the village who had to leave the association because of the marriage of a child when they were of *bahan* rank or higher, and whose wives are still alive.

55 575 [587] If a person loses his *desa* membership because of the death of his wife he can only become a member again by marrying a girl who has not yet been married. In that case he regains his earlier place, and if that has moved forward in the *bale agung* he obtains a higher place, so that it sometimes happens that he skips over some ranks. However, it may be the case that when he regains his membership the number of places in the rank he should occupy are all filled, and in that case he has to wait for a vacancy.

561 562 769 This whole division of the population according to age and marital status corresponds to a division of the graveyards, which, as was pointed out, consist of an eastern and a western group, each of which is subdivided in a burial ground for children who have not yet lost their milk teeth, one for older children, and one for adults.

86 626 This structure of the population is of importance in two respects. There is perhaps no other *desa* on Bali where the individual is so much fitted into the village service from the cradle to the grave as in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. There are countless imperative and

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prohibitive commandments to which the Tĕngananese is subject, and the violation of one of these regulations even in very early years has serious consequences for all of his later life. For a boy to be expelled from his association means that he cannot later become a member of the *desa*, in other words can never participate fully in religious ceremonies or obtain the customary right of disposal over five village *sawahs*. Walking through the village with a young Tĕngananese, one may suddenly hear him ask one to wait a moment until he has had his creese and sash fetched, for if he were to walk past his association *bale* without them it would cost him a fine of twenty-five hundred doits. The equivalent regulations for the *desa* members themselves are even stricter. They may not be found outside their *banjar* or the *desa* without a creese, outer garment, and sash. They have to have the permission of the village administration to go beyond the *desa* boundary. And they, their wives, and their children are prohibited from doing any number of things.

Yet to me this population structure seems even more striking as a remnant of an earlier social organization. This village where the men are exclusively tappers of palm wine and the women weavers of sacred fabrics is full of reminiscences of a totemistic clan structure such as Rassers has sketched in his various writings – a structure characterized by one single craft, totem animals, a division in left and right halves, clan temples, and initiation.[14]

After the above description of the young people's associations and the *desa* association a few further comments are necessary to complete this survey of the population of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan. The able-bodied men who are not members of the *desa* are called *gumis pulangan*. For village services only one *gumi pulangan* per 'kitchen', that is to say per compound, needs to report, even though there may be more able-bodied men living in the compound. The male *desa* members plus the *gumis pulangan* are together called *tambunan gumi*. This group comes to a total of about a hundred men. The men in the village who are not able-bodied are called *gumi unggu*. A person is no longer able-bodied if he is not capable of using a hatchet. Such a person may not belong to

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561 575 882 the core villagers or to a boys' association, though boys who are no longer able-bodied are considered as *palaks*. Able-bodied widowers are also called *gumis pulangan*, and are looked upon by the *desa* as a sort of reserve, since they can again become core villagers by remarrying if their second wife is a *dtha*. This is perhaps the reason for the regulation that if possible widowers should continue living in separate compounds, and in fact are required to do so if they have a child. (If they are childless they may move into a compound with another family, the which is called *ngtdis*, from *ktdis*, 'bird'.) If a widower marries a widow he remains a *gumi pulangan*.

609 It goes without saying that in a village where strangers are looked at askance, immigrants are subject to any number of restrictions. They are relegated seventeen compounds in the *banjar* of Pande, though they may be permitted to use other compounds by way of favour. They are, of course, expected to provide the village with certain services, such as caring for the village orchestra, and must help with the religious services in their *banjar*.

567 There has never been slavery in Tĕnganan, though indenture for debt does exist. In this connection attention must be called to the blacksmith family from the *desa* of Tunggak (where it still has its place of burial). This smith, who came to Tĕnganan at the request of the *desa*, was given a loan of sixty thousand doits free of interest, to be paid back in instalments, but the loan is constantly renewed on payment of the last instalment. He works gratis for the *desa* whenever that is necessary.

566 Also in perpetual servitude to the *desa* are the so-called *panjaks desa*, including the village cleaners, the *yayas*. These *yayas* have a function in the *bale agung* similar to that exercised in the *desa* by the *kĕbayans tahak*.[11] These *kĕbayans tahak*, now consisting of fourteen families, may not become members of the *desa* association. Two of them do take part in the meeting in the *bale agung* as *yayas*, but they sit at the very lowest end, below the *pĕngluduhans*, the newest *desa* members. It is the task of the *kĕbayans tahak* to keep the village territory clean. If corpses of people or dogs are found and no one admits that they belong to him, they must see

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to their removal. The two *kĕbayans tahak* who are allowed to attend the meetings in the *bale agung* obtain the yield from a *sawah* and a garden.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the deaf, the insane, and the feeble-minded in the village fall under the supervision of the *desa*.

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Chapter Four

Administrative, Judicial, and Legislative Matters

I

Administrative Affairs

621 623 Every inhabitant of Tĕnganan who is not excluded from membership becomes a member of the *desa*, a *kĕrama desa* or *wong desa*, on marrying a girl or a young man of the *desa*. It is compulsory to inform the *desa* of the marriage. A man who [587] marries a widow from the *desa* or a woman from another *desa*, whether or not the latter has been married before, does not become a *desa* member. A new member becomes one of the *pĕngluduhans*, the *desa* members without a rank. Both husband and wife become members as a result of their marriage, and each has his own task to fulfil, though the only *desa* meeting in which the women participate is the one at which plans are discussed for the major *usaba* or purification ceremony in Kalima. At that meeting they sit on the left (west) side of the *bale*. It goes without saying that the women members of the *desa*, like the men, may not be physically deformed.

623 624 *Desa* membership is always terminated for husband and wife at the same time. Reasons for the termination may be the marriage of one of the couple's children, a second marriage on the part of the husband, the death of one of the couple, or a transgression of the *desa adat* by either the husband or the wife. If, for instance, a woman who is a *desa* member takes to carrying on trade or enters the *bale agung* while she is with child, or if a man fails to appear at the *desa* meeting in appropriate meeting dress (though a *pĕngluduhan* may fail to comply with the regulation twice), goes outside his *banjar* without being clad in *adat* dress and wearing his creese, passes the night outside the *desa* territory without permission from

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the *desa* council, or performs the *pĕkĕmit bĕngongan*, both the husband and the wife cease to be *desa* members. 623 626

When a *desa* member of whatever rank is deprived of membership, the others retain their old places for the time being, moving up to their new places only in Katiga, Kaněm, and Kasanga, the third, sixth, and ninth month. In certain cases a person who has lost his *desa* membership can regain it. For instance, a widower who marries a girl of the *desa* becomes a member once more, and the village constitution makes it possible for the *desa* meeting to decide whether a person whose membership has been revoked for another reason should be readmitted. He then regains the same seniority he had earlier enjoyed, even though that may mean that his position has moved towards the upper end of the *bale agung* in the meantime. In view of this possibility of regaining membership, a register of persons who have lost theirs, listed chronologically and according to rank, is kept among the village records. [587]

Since the commencement, termination, and regaining of membership depends on a variety of causes, the number of members of the *desa* is variable. In 1926 there were twenty *pĕngluduhans*. This variability in the number of members has come about as a result of the decrease in population in the village. In earlier times the number of members corresponded to the number of *desa* compounds, with only those married couples having a compound becoming core villagers. Now, however, the population has declined to the extent that there are unoccupied compounds and everyone who marries can immediately obtain one. 623 565 102

During the *desa* meetings the *pĕngluduhans* sit nearest of all the core villagers to the lower end of the *bale agung*.[1] It is a general rule that the persons who have a lower seat (*dibĕten*) address those who sit higher up (*diulu*) in the official language, as *dapa* (the feminine form is *dabi*); the higher-ranking persons address the lower ones as *kita*. The newest pair of *pĕngluduhans* is granted a year in which to learn to behave according to the regulations, and in this period transgressions cannot lead to loss of membership. 623 571

Above the *pĕngluduhans* sit the twelve *tambĕlapus*, the two oldest of whom are called *klihans tambĕlapu*. The two *klihans* and the 623 624

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623 four following *tambĕlapus* have an important right of say as regards
624 the purification ceremonies. In that connection everyone in the *desa*, high and low alike, must obey their orders: a person who refuses to obey immediately loses his *desa* membership, no matter what rank he may have.

Above the *tambĕlapus* sit the twelve *bahans*. The junior six of this rank are called *dapas bahan bĕtenan;* the senior six are referred to as *klihans bahan* or *dapas bahan duluan*, while as the council handling the day-to-day affairs of the *desa* they are called *klihans desa*. This council meets every evening from eight to twelve o'clock in the *bale agung* with four *sayas* (criers) and six *kĕmits* (watchmen).

In a one-month rotation scheme, the *bahans* serve by turns as the *pĕnyarikan desa*, who has the task of striking the signal block. As long as the *pĕnyarikan* has not sounded the signal block in the morning, the new day has not begun. He must also be present in the *bale agung* every evening, and is in charge of the *kĕropak desa*, where the village records are stored, and of the *desa* seal, which must be affixed to all *desa* documents.

The *sayas desa* also hold their post in one-month rotation, in groups of four. Serving as such are the *desa* members below the rank of *bahan*, in the order in which they appear on the list of seniority. They look after the *pĕsayan* – the meeting requisites: betel, yellow rice, and flowers – at both the *desa* meetings and the meetings of the council. At the beginning of the meeting they perform the ritual of *dĕdauhan base*, presenting the betel and the yellow rice, a few grains of which are pasted to the foreheads of those present.

The *sayas* also serve as village criers. Each evening towards midnight, after the council meeting has come to an end and the *klihans desa* have gone home, leaving the *bale agung* under the protection of the six *kĕmits*, the *sayas* go *angatag saya*. Singing with clear voices, they walk through the village, stopping before the closed door of each person who is to receive an order from the *desa* council. Then they call out more loudly. As soon as they receive an answer, they shout to the inhabitant of the compound what the order is, for he does not open the door.

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If the *sayas* have an order to announce to the whole *desa*, however, they go to the houses of the *klihans luanan* or *kĕbayans desa*. There should be six members of this group, which sits above the *bahans*, but as long as the office of *de ngijĕng* is not filled there are only five. Their task is to make the orders of the council known to the core villagers and other inhabitants of the *desa* liable to service. They are not allowed to close their compound doors before the *sayas* have announced the council orders, since they may not be called to from outside. The *sayas* enter the compounds of the *klihans luanan* with great deference, for in this situation the *luanan* is also the *saya*'s *nabe*. Before saying anything, the *saya* takes hold of the edge of the *luanan*'s offering table, then he announces his commission in deferential language. If his manners fall short he is discharged from his duties.

A word more is in order regarding the *de mangku* and the *de ngijĕng*, who in earlier times were looked upon as the ruler and his *patih*, while the territory within the *desa* gates was called the *kraton*. As soon as a member of the right flank of the *sangyang* class has reached the rank of *luanan* he is elevated to the position of *de mangku*. He then occupies the highest seat in the *bale agung*, and is addressed as *kaki mangku*, while his wife is spoken to as *nini mangku*. After he has ceased to be a member of the *desa* the former *de mangku* is referred to as *de mantĕn*. The left flank of the *sangyang* class provides the *de ngijĕng*, who, however, cannot hold office unless there is a *de mangku*. Once a member of the left flank has reached the rank of *pĕnyarikan*, he automatically becomes the senior *luanan* (unless there is no *de mangku*). The *de ngijĕng*, who is also called *subak desa*, is addressed as *kaki*, or *kaki ngijĕng*, his wife as *nini*, or *nini ngijĕng*. His task is primarily a religious one, though he is also entrusted with the *desa* treasury, and must be informed whenever a marriage is concluded. At religious festivities, for instance at the *usaba* ceremony in Kalima, a place is reserved for him, and a portion of food set apart. For the *de mangku* seven portions of food are provided, in keeping with the number of compounds to which he has a right. If the *de ngijĕng* ceases to be a member of the *desa*, for example because one of his children

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623 marries, he is given the function of *de mĕsalah* (as which he is
624 addressed as *kaki salah*, and his wife as *nini salah*) and serves as
565 head of the *klihans gumi*. He remains *de mĕsalah* only as long as his wife is alive. The *de mĕsalah* supervises the offerings at the purification ceremonies in Kasa, Kalima, and Kadasa, the first, fifth, and tenth months.

From the above it is clear that the various ranks in the *desa* are attained on the basis of length of *desa* membership: the longer one is a core villager, the closer to the deity one is seated, and the more hallowed one becomes. Only the *sangyangs* are so hallowed by birth that, once they have reached a certain rank, they are able to skip over the remaining ranks and occupy the two supreme posts of *de mangku* and *de ngijĕng*, which are reserved for their class.

The *klihans gumi* constitute the *desa*'s unprejudiced reservoir of wisdom and experience. They are the supervisors of the widowers, the misformed, and all the other men who for one reason or another are not, or are no longer, *desa* members. Since the *klihans gumi* have ceased to be members of the *desa* and hence do not enjoy the fruits of a share in the *desa* grounds, they no longer perform any services in connection with the purification ceremonies. Nor do they participate in the monthly *desa* meetings, unless they are invited to aid in settling controversies. (As will be seen below, they play an important rôle in the judicial affairs of the *desa*.) However, they do attend the meetings at which plans are made for the purification cremonies in Kasa, Kalima, Kadasa, and Desta, though without their wives. Only at the Kalima purification ceremony do they receive a share of the offering foods. Their title of address is *dapa klihan gumi*.

623 Aside from the officials discussed above, the *desa* has a number of
624 other functionaries who, surprisingly enough, are required to be of different religious views from those of the *desa* members. The chief of these functionaries is the *pasĕk*, who comes from Ngis. He takes part in the *desa* meetings only on invitation, but is always present at the meetings where the purification ceremonies in the months of Kasa, Kalima, and Kaulu are planned. He also has the right to participate in all meetings of the boys' associations to

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which he is invited. At the meetings of both the *desa* and the boys' associations he sits at the head of the meeting *bale*. He is the only person in the village allowed to keep boars, and is in charge of arranging all offerings. He and the heads of the fourteen *kĕbayan tahak* families form together the corps of *langlang desa*, or village watchmen, in which function they are assisted by the *yayas*, the village cleaners.

Among other such functionaries is the *dukuh*, the guardian of the Majapahit temple, who is not a core villager and does not participate in the *desa* meetings, but like the *pasĕk* enjoys the yield from a *bukti*, a plot of village land. The *pande* is the guardian of the *pura bagus pande;* there are also several other temple guardians, the *pĕmangku* of the *pura dalĕm* being the most important of them. All these temple guardians have the usufruct of a *bukti*.

The functions of *pasĕk*, *yaya*, *dukuh*, *pande*, and *pĕmangku* are hereditary. In case the *mangku* of a *paibon* must be replaced, however, the medium at Pasĕdahan is requested to make a choice.

Some years ago the *controleur* of Karangasĕm 'discovered' that the administrative institutions of Tĕnganan were growing corrupt: the six *klihans desa* had begun to exercise a reign of terror, punishing insignificant *adat* violations with exorbitant sentences, even banishment and confiscation of all property, and such sentences were not pronounced in all disinterestedness, for the property then fell to the *desa*, and from its property the *klihans* in turn derived their incomes.

In order to be able to judge whether this complaint was well-founded, it is necessary to consider the administrative machinery in operation, the levies and services required, and the incomes of the officials.

As was seen above, the council handling the day-to-day affairs of the *desa* convenes every evening. On the first day of each month, *pati pantĕn*, the members of the *desa* meet together in the *bale agung*. All members of the *desa* are required to attend the meeting in person; if a member is ill his place is left open, and he must remain indoors for at least three days. A new member

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attends the meeting for the first time on the *pati pantĕn* following his *mĕbea nganten.*[1] (If a new member presents himself to be inscribed in the *desa* register and has not yet chosen a new name, he is named by the *klihans desa* in consultation with the twelve *tambĕlapus.*)

The *desa* meeting has a ceremonial character, and is conducted under the auspices of the deity to whom each member makes a *sĕmbah* before taking his place. Every member is clad in the prescribed dress: his girdle over his outer garment, his *sabuk tubuhan*[2] clearly visible, and his finely ornamented creese placed in his sash at the back. A *pĕngluduhan* who violates this or other regulations three times is fined two thousand doits, to be paid within three days, and on failure to pay he loses his membership. A person of the rank of *bahan* or higher who commits such a transgression is immediately removed from the list of *desa* members. As has been mentioned, however, there is a fairly recent stipulation added to the *desa* constitution, that the *desa* can readmit him. The fact that persons lose their membership for the sake of such a trifling thing as failing to appear in proper meeting dress is one of the grounds for the charge of a reign of terror brought against the *desa* officials. The fact of the matter is, however, that the *desa* considers such a violation as a serious thing, for it is a transgression of the ancestral *adat.*

At the *desa* meeting the council renders an account of its administration, and the month's duties for the villagers eligible for service are discussed. It has already been pointed out that such persons are called *gumis pulangan*, and that there must be one *gumi pulangan* for each compound. If one of the persons living in the compound is a member of the *desa*, no other able-bodied man from the compound is required; however, if a core villager dies before his son has married, so that there is no core villager in the compound, the eldest able-bodied son becomes the *gumi pulangan* for the compound.

The *desa* members together with the other *gumis pulangan* constitute the *tambunan gumi.* The *desa* members in the *tambunan* are divided into six equal groups, and each sixth part of the *tambunan*

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is called a *pulangan*. Each *pulangan* has a *klihan desa* at its head, who in that function is called *klihan pulangan;* in each *pulangan* there are also a *klihan luanan*, functioning as *subak*, and two *tambĕlapus*, with the office of *saya*. Despite the fact that there is no *de ngijĕng* at present, one of the groups, now eighteen men strong, is called the *pulangan ijĕng*.

The other five *pulangans* meet at the compound of their *subak*, but the *pulangan ijĕng* convenes in the *bale agung*, where the now-invisible *ijĕng* is considered to be seated beside the deity, and a *sĕmbah* is made to him before the meeting begins. Each of the *pulangans* has its own meeting day. A substitute can be sent to the meeting, provided the substitute is a *desa* member. At the meetings it is discussed how best to perform the duties charged upon the *pulangan* by the *desa* meeting or council. The *pulangans* are responsible for maintaining the *desa* buildings, in particular the *bale agung;* among the tasks involved are those of re-roofing the smaller buildings and of keeping the *bale agung* and the *pura kubu langlang* clean. If an important decision is to be taken in the *desa*, all six of the *pulangans* are assembled together.

Anyone who gives careful consideration to this whole administrative complex will have to admit that mutual consultation would seem to have been given a larger rôle in Tĕnganan than perhaps anywhere else in the world, and that there is not the least reason to fear a reign of terror on the part of the *desa* council. This becomes all the more evident when it is recalled that the *desa* administration is in turn closely interconnected with those of the young people's associations and the *banjars*, and that the administration of justice in the *desa* is surrounded by an ample number of guarantees.

The *desa* of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan has a large source of income at its disposal. It is a principle that all property, movable and immovable alike, is held under the terms of the *druwe desa*, the Tĕngananese right of disposal. If the *desa* is in need of something it has only to take it. If a guest of the *desa* must be presented a meal, there is always a sufficient store of rice in the *desa* granary,

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while the first chicken to hand may be caught and prepared to set before the guest, without a protest from the owner. Naturally, an effort is made not always to confiscate the same person's property in order to meet the *desa*'s needs, and no more may ever be taken than is strictly necessary.

The right of disposal over the ground finds recognition in the contribution of a hundred doits which non-Tĕngananese are required to pay in the month of Desta if they collect windfall fruit of certain protected trees (*kayu larangan*) in the *desa* territory. Members of the *desa* themselves pay thirty-three doits per year for the *kayu larangan* on their compounds.

In the month of Kapitu every compound in Tĕnganan except those in the *banjar* of Pande has to provide an *achi n karang*, an offering which consists of a quantity of prepared rice eight hundred doits in weight, plus sixty-six doits in cash. Failure to comply leads to a fine of two thousand doits, which is used for buying pigs. There is also a *sawah* tax, *pĕti*, which is collected at the end of the month of Kalima, after which the taxpayers are given a feast.

Some levies are not paid by all inhabitants each year, but only by part of them. For this purpose the inhabitants are divided in groups called *dampukans*. Among the levies provided *dampukan* by *dampukan* in rotation are a pastry offering for the purification ceremony in the month of Kaulu and an amount of uncooked rice, coconuts, and other produce in the month of Kapitu. The decorations for the offering *bales* are also provided by each of the *dampukans* in turn, since the temples have no ceremonial cloths or other property of their own.

A large part of the *desa*'s income is derived from the *chariks achi*, the complexes of communally owned offering *sawahs* left over after the members of the *desa* have each received their proper amount of ground (*charik bukti*). These *sawahs* are rented out on shares. The yield falling to a core villager from his *bukti* also reverts to the *desa* if he has unseasonably lost his membership.

Another important source of income is the amount collected in fines. The fines are very heavy, and some have to be paid in instalments for the rest of one's life. All fines are paid at the *desa*

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meeting except instalments of a life-long fine, which are collected at home.

The services requisitioned by the *desa* are almost all of them connected with religious matters. The preparation of the offerings demands a great deal of work, which must be done by the male members of the *desa*. A person who fails to fulfil his duty is fittingly punished, and even those who are prevented by illness from performing their services are confined to their homes for three days. The men also have the duty of appearing with their fighting cocks on certain occasions, and the women *desa* members are required to rear pigs to be sold to the *desa* for fixed low prices in order to be used in the purification rites.

These duties of *desa* membership are counterbalanced by certain advantages. Everyone who takes an active part in the *desa* offering ceremonies enjoys the yield from a *bukti*. The *desa* members, including the officials, have a different share each year; the plots for the others are fixed *sawahs*. Since the number of core villagers is variable, the number of *buktis* differs from year to year, and hence also the number of plots left over as *chariks achi*.

Each of the *pĕngluduhans* except the newest pair has as his share two and a half plots, while the two most recent *pĕngluduhans* have four plots each for the first year. *Desa* members of the higher ranks also have four plots each. The shares are reapportioned each year on the first day of Kasanga, the ninth month. On this date the *desa* members gather in front of the *bale agung*, where the *klihans bahan* sketch a rough map of the *buktis* and in order of seniority the members make their choice. (Nowhere else on Bali is a map used in this way.)

A newly married person does not receive a share until the next apportionment, while if, as a result of the marriage of a child, a man loses his *desa* membership before the rice is ripe, he forfeits his right to his yield, which instead goes to the *desa* treasury. Consequently most marriages take place in the month of Kasa, when the rice is golden yellow in the fields – this in contrast to the rest of Bali, where marriages usually take place after the harvest, because there is then money for the wedding.

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624 421 In conclusion, then, it can be said that the income of the *desa* officials is strictly limited, while the entire income of the *desa* is devoted to the *desa* offerings on the basis of a detailed budget. Hence I fail to see how anyone could accuse the village authorities of self-interest in punishing *adat* transgressions.

2

The Police

181 626 Every offence committed within the village territory is looked upon as prejudicial to the community, and for this reason the *desa* officials take action against such offences even when no complaint has been lodged.

It should be pointed out that every member of the *desa* is expected to look after the welfare of the community, and hence that all villagers must act as *tĕlik tanĕm*, 'village spies'.[4] Anyone reporting a transgression to the *bahan* is given a reward from the village treasury amounting to half of the fine placed on the transgression. The name of the informant remains secret. If the accused denies the charge, he is required to swear on oath to that effect beneath the tamarind tree.

625 In two particular fields there are functionaries with special policing powers. Supervision over the *kayu larangan*, various types of trees which it is prohibited to cut down or pick the fruits or nuts of, is exercised by the *kĕbayan tahak*, who must give permission for each exception to the prohibition. On the eastern mountain slope there are an unusual sort of forest rangers, the *lĕlipi sĕlĕm bukit*, 'king cobras', who guard against clandestine opening up of land or picking of fruits.

3

Judicature

69 None of the Tĕngananese village institutions has been so disrupted in the past decade as the uniquely organized and prudently operating judicial system. Let us, then, begin by describing the

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system as it operated in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan roughly a decade ago.

If a person had a complaint to make, he went to the *bale agung* and reported the matter to the *saya*, requesting him to be taken to the *klihans bahan*. The *klihans* then charged one or more *kĕmits* to question the plaintiff regarding the matter and make an oral report to the council. The six *klihans* were divided in three pairs. The junior pair heard the complaint and pronounced the verdict, but did so in the presence of the remaining four *klihans bahan* and the six other *bahans*, who were considered as reserve judges and judges-to-be. If the junior pair of *klihans* could not reach agreement, the case passed to the second pair, while if they, too, failed to concur the matter was handed on to the senior pair, who were required to arrive at a settlement. Hence the older *klihans bahan* held themselves completely aloof from the discussions of the younger *klihans*, even though they, or one of them, might not agree with the handling of the case or with the verdict.

If one of the principals in a case was not satisfied by the verdict of the *klihans bahan*, he could appeal to the *kĕbayans desa*, the *klihans luanan*. The *saya* was again the person to introduce the plaintiff, but the case was presented by one of the *klihans bahan*. Whatever the opinion of the *kĕbayans* was, whether in agreement with the verdict of the *klihans* or not, the case then went back to the six *klihans bahan*, who had to settle it as a group, giving due regard to the *kĕbayans'* remarks. (In the golden periods when the posts of *de mangku* and *de ngijĕng* were filled, they constituted an institution with still higher power than the *kĕbayans desa*. If the two disagreed, the word of the *de mangku* was law.)

If neither of the two parties to the case was satisfied with the decision as pronounced by the six *klihans* on the basis of the recommendations of the *kĕbayans*, the latter then presented the matter to the *klihans gumi*, the '*desa* reserve'. Before the *klihans gumi* could take action, however, there had to be three such cases to be reviewed. The *klihans gumi* then called the *tambunan gumi* together in the *bale banjar kauh*. After the *saya* had presented the case, each person attending the gathering was given the chance

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692 to express his opinion. The case was then decided by a majority
694 vote, and could not be appealed.

Since the Court of Kĕrta at Karangasĕm has begun to concern itself with Tĕngananese affairs, much of this judicial system has disappeared. In the first place the Council has failed utterly to comprehend the division of the *klihans bahan* in three pairs, as is clear from a case in which one of the *klihans bahan*, asked for his opinion on a verdict, answered that he would have preferred a different decision, but it was not his responsibility, since a younger pair of *klihans* had settled the case.

623 Having noted that the higher authorities constantly request the
624 opinion of the whole village population, the *desa* officials have in
693 recent years taken to settling cases at meetings of all the core villagers, and have ordered records of the verdicts to be kept. As a result the lower stages in the judicial system have disappeared.

This seems to me regrettable, for the whole system of judicature by successive groups had a valuable significance for the development of Tĕngananese *adat* law. The junior pair of *klihans bahan*, the judges who were closest to the younger generation of *desa* members, pronounced the decision in the first instance, and the older *klihans* had to accept it with good grace, whether they agreed with it or not. That was the chance of the younger group. But if there was uncertainty as a result of the fact that the junior pair did not concur, the case moved on to an older pair, riper in experience and more thoroughly acquainted with the *adat*. And in this way with each step on the judicial ladder older and older persons, more and more mature in their judgement, but also more and more tenacious in their adherence to the traditional *adat*, were involved. Until finally the case came to the village elders, the *klihans gumi*, who, if they were to have sole power of adjudication, would decide the case according to the *adat* concepts of their youth. Instead, however, they had to present their opinions to the *desa* as a whole, leaving the final judgement to the *tambunan gumi*.

683 The *desa* has meanwhile found a workable solution to the question
685 of which affairs lie within its competence and which within that

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of the Court of Kĕrta. Starting from the principle that everything within its territory belongs to it, the *desa* might have maintained the point of view that its competence extended to all transgressions. There were, however, two types of transgressions that presented problems: theft and physical violence. In matters of theft there is now a dual system. If an inhabitant reports a case of stealing to the *pĕrbĕkĕl*, it is understood that he would like to have it handled by the *punggawa* or the Court of Kĕrta, while if he lodges a complaint at the *bale agung* the case is settled by the *desa* judiciary. Competence over cases of physical violence, that is to say homicide and manhandling, has been transferred completely to the Court of Kĕrta, probably because the article in the *desa* constitution on vendetta can no longer be applied.

A great deal of difficulty would have been avoided if the Court of Kĕrta had respected this division of competence, but instead it has intervened in a number of other matters, especially marital affairs. The *desa*'s response to this intervention is to rid itself of persons appealing its decisions, by banishing them.

As for the relations of the *desa* judiciary to lower legal communities, the *banjar* of Kĕstala has complete jurisdiction over its own affairs. Judicature there is in the hands of the eight *klihans*, and the two *mangkus* have no say in it. For matters as to which there is no precedent, however, a meeting of the *banjar* members is called, and the case is decided by a majority vote. The other lower legal communities are permitted to settle only those affairs having to do with association matters, primarily the violation of rules of order in their constitutions. All other offences and transgressions come before the *desa* judiciary. Controversies between members of the *sĕkaha charik*, for example disagreements about the distribution of irrigation water, are also settled by the *desa* judiciary.

A few points of procedure in the consideration of cases may be mentioned. The *saya desa* brings up the plaintiffs. As a rule the principals in a suit appear in person in the *bale agung*, and all persons summoned are required to appear, though if one of the parties is a woman the presence of her husband is considered sufficient. A plaintiff must take care that his presentation of the

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694 case never varies, since otherwise he loses his suit as a matter of course.

There are no special restrictions as to what evidence is admissible, and nothing that may help the judges to reach their decision is ruled out. Clues and suspicions carry heavy weight; the testimony of witnesses, including that of the secret '*desa* spies', can be invalidated by the swearing of an oath; written documents are rarely used as evidence. Confession is taken to be an absolute proof of guilt.

The verdict of the judges is usually not reached until a few days after the hearings, at which time the parties to the case are informed by the *saya desa*. Written verdicts date only from very recent times, and are drafted less for internal use in the *desa* than to be presented to the Court of Kĕrta.

Most verdicts are merely a faithful application of the regulations in the *desa* constitution. However, if one of the parties is not a member of a core-villager family but, for example, a person from the immigrant *banjar* of Pande, his own *adat* – usually the general Balinese *adat* – is applied.

In the verdicts one or both parties are often required to take an [693] oath. In case an oath is administered to only one person this is called *mĕdewasaksi*,[5] in case of both *mĕdewagama*.[6] The *mĕdewasaksi* always takes place with the help of a single oath assistant, a deviation from the custom in the rest of Bali, where in important cases there is sometimes more than one.[7] Any married man with one or more sons can serve as an oath assistant, whether or not he is a core villager. The *mĕdewasaksi* takes place in the presence of the senior pair of *klihans bahan* and the other party to the case. For the *mĕdewagama* the *klihans tempek* officiate, assisted by the two senior *klihans bahan*. Two *sayas desa* also serve at each oath-swearing ceremony.

692 694 It is interesting that the *klihans tempek*, the chiefs of the persons required to do service for the court, play a rôle in the administration of the oath. Even more striking, however, is the fact that, in cases where loss of *desa* membership has been made dependent on the swearing of an oath, the *klihans tempek* gather in the *bale*

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pĕkĕncha to review the case, and if they decide that it is undesirable for the oath to be taken they inform the *kĕbayans desa* of their point of view and the oath is not administered. Since swearing an oath involves an appeal to the supernatural forces, it leads throughout Bali to lasting enmity and the rupture of all family ties. For this reason the ruler sometimes intervened in connection with the *mĕdewagama*, in order to avert the terrible consequences of the perjury which one of the two parties would inevitably commit.[8] In Tĕnganan, where the villagers all worship one and the same deity, if both parties swear an oath there is a chance that the supernatural powers summoned up may turn against the community, the more so since the oath is imposed by the *desa* authorities. The intervention of the *klihans tempek*, then, is to be considered as a final consideration of the verdict by functionaries of a different order from the *desa* officials, persons standing in a special relationship to the ruler.

The party requiring the oath provides the requisites for the rite. The administration of the oath takes place in the temple of origin of the village classes, the *pura pĕkuwon*, beneath the tamarind tree. The person swearing the oath is called *kĕtiban ing chor*, 'charged with an oath', and never *nginĕm chor*, for in Tĕnganan, unlike elsewhere, no oath-water is drunk. Bowing before the stones for the origin of the classes piled in front of the altars in the temple, the person swearing the oath holds blossoms picked from the trees in the temple court between his fingertips. The wording of the oath is simple; this, for example, is the standard one recited in connection with cases involving a girl who has been got with child:

> Ye gods, great god of the *pĕkuwon*, I bow before you to bear the burden of this oath: if I have made Ni Anu pregnant may I be accursed for perjury, if I have not made Ni Anu pregnant may I be white and pure.

After the oath has been administered, the person who has sworn it bathes in the *kaja-kauh* bathing place.

The *pĕnyarikan desa* has the responsibility of enforcing the verdicts of the court, in which he is assisted by the *sayas desa*. In

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693 694 certain instances these latter officials receive a payment of ten per cent. of the fines, and sometimes a flat fee of a thousand doits, for their services. The judges do not receive any special personal compensation, though the portion of the fines that goes into the village treasury is considered as a payment for adjudication. In case of refusal to abide by a verdict a variety of methods of pressure can be applied in a prescribed order, the final one being that the recalcitrant person is expelled from the *desa* and all his property confiscated.

4

Legislation

671 As has already been mentioned at various points, a large part of Tĕngananese *adat* consists of written law. The village constitution is highly revered, and the *kĕbayans desa* know it almost by heart. It is only with the greatest of diffidence that a verdict not based on the constitution is pronounced. It is true that the order of succession in which the *klihans bahan* serve as judges makes it possible for modern ideas to win ground, but on the other hand it should be remembered that even the youngest *bahans* have been brought up to revere the traditional institutions, while a person who has lost a case will not easily acquiesce in a verdict contrary to *adat*.

175 671 The constitution is a record of what the villagers were able to recall of an old charter which was lost in the fire in the year 1763 *Çāka* (1841 A.D.). It was recorded with the approval of the *dewa agung putra* of Klungkung and I Gusti Ngurah Made of Karangasĕm by the court scribes I Made Gianyar and I Gĕde Gurit, who sojourned in Tĕnganan for some time in 1842 for the purpose.

646 This constitution is amended in an extraordinary way. If a legal question arises in the *desa* and the constitution does not provide a solution, a decision is taken, on analogy with other stipulations in the constitution, by a majority vote. Such a vote is not sufficient to make a decision a binding regulation, however. It is then announced to all the people of the *desa* proper, whether *desa* members or not, thus including the people living in the *banjar* of Pande

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(but not those of Kĕstala and Gumung). After some time, when the emotions of the parties involved have calmed, the people are asked whether there is anyone who is not in favour of adding the new regulation to the constitution. This may not be done as long as one single person declares himself opposed to it. Hence it sometimes takes years before such a regulation can be incorporated in the constitution, and in the meantime other questions will perhaps have arisen, so that the constitution may be extended considerably in one fell swoop. In this way no less than fourteen articles were added to the constitution in 1925. Legislation, then, is a very slow process in Tĕnganan, and the method of amending the constitution must seem a veritable nightmare to those legal experts who believe that a simple majority should be sufficient for all constitutional changes.

As regards the 'legislation' of the lower legal communities, the young people's associations and some of the *sĕkahas charik* have drafted constitutions, with the approval of the *desa* meeting. The *banjar* of Pande has had its constitution approved by I Made Pĕguyangan, and the *banjar* of Kĕstala its basic law by I Gusti Nyoman Rai, while that of the three *tempeks* was granted by I Gusti Bagus Pĕguyan and I Gusti Gĕde Rai, all of them worthies of the realm of Karangasĕm. The Kĕstala constitution stipulates that all matters not provided for in it are to be settled by majority vote.

Among the *desa* records are also several edicts of the ruler of Karangasĕm regarding services and levies due to him.

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Chapter Five

The Desa in its Relation to Other Legal Communities

628 631 Let us in closing consider the ties between Tĕnganan and the royal authorities of Karangasĕm on the one hand, and on the other those between Tĕnganan and other villages.

It is clear from various stipulations in the *desa* constitution (which, as was seen above, is a record of what could be remembered of the old charter destroyed by fire) that the ruler who drafted the original charter had the aim of making Tĕnganan a *pĕrdikan desa*. When I inquired of Anak Agung Agung Bagus Jĕlantik, the head of the former ruling family of Karangasĕm, why Tĕnganan enjoyed such a large degree of autonomy, and why after the fire the people of the village went to Klungkung to request a new constitution, he was unable to give an explanation: Tĕnganan had been left to its own devices even in early times. Nor do the people of the *desa* itself know why it occupies such an exceptional position among the villages of Karangasĕm, though the views of the villagers as to their relation to Karangasĕm and to the whole of Bali show that historical developments have played a rôle.

According to Tĕngananese tradition, the ruler of Bedahulu made Tĕnganan a *pĕrdikan desa* and granted it a charter. Now the successor to Bedahulu is the *dewa agung* of Klungkung, and the ruler of Karangasĕm is no more than his viceroy; hence the Tĕngananese consider only what the *dewa agung* has ordained to be valid for their *desa*, and the boundaries of the various principalities have little significance for them: above the village level they recognize only the whole of Bali.

How much alive these views still are became clear to me during a session of the Karangasĕm council at which discussion was devoted to the proposal of the Netherlands East Indies authorities

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to create councils in each region of Bali, plus an all-Bali council above them. Acceptance of the proposal would mean that the existing Karangasĕm council had to give up various powers, and not only Anak Agung Agung seriously objected to this, but also all but one of the council members. That one was the Tĕngananese I Nĕngah Tanggu, who declared himself in favour of the proposal for two reasons. "We are all Balinese", he declared, "no matter where we live, and so it is logical for Balinese affairs to be handled by an all-Bali council." And moreover: "We must have confidence in the government at Batavia, which is certainly of good will in regard to the Balinese." Anak Agung Agung Jĕlantik labelled this the answer that might be expected from the *Bali-aga*.

In earlier times the *desa* of Tĕnganan was even more independent of the royal administration than it is today. No services were rendered and no taxes were paid, either in money or in kind. Each year the *desa* presented the ruler a tributary gift in lieu of meeting royal rights such as the claim to property of people dying without children, the usual fees on weddings, and land taxes, and each year a fifth of that gift was returned to the *desa* as a sign that the relationship between the ruler and the village was to continue in the same way.

The war with Sibĕtan cost Tĕnganan a part of its independence. According to the Tĕngananese, this war took place roughly two hundred years ago, and the dating must be more or less accurate, for the *Kaki Wayan Karangasĕm mur ring Juring* of Tĕnganan tradition can, I believe, be identified as the second Balinese prince to hold sway over Karangasĕm and Lombok. This ruler came to the aid of Tĕnganan against its highly remarkable neighbouring *desa* Sibĕtan, but his assistance had to be rewarded by the cession of several *sawahs* (which are still the property of Anak Agung Agung of Karangasĕm and certain private individuals), by the introduction of a *pajĕg* levy for part of the Tĕngananese *sawahs*, and by soccage service to the court. Desiring to protect Tĕnganan against Sibĕtan for all time, Kaki Wayan of Karangasĕm also ordered the creation of a frontier guard of a few families from

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175 Tĕnganan, to whom the *desa* was required to grant all the *sawahs*
628 in the irrigation district Yeh Sayan on a permanent share-crop basis. This frontier community has become Kĕstala, where since then persons of the *desa* who could not be allowed to remain in the *banjar* of Pande have been banished.

In this connection it should be pointed out that according to a report from Controleur Buys Ballot the *pajĕg sawahs* in Naga Sungsang came into being in the following way: two worthies of Karangasĕm, Gusti Kĕtut Mumbul and Gusti Wayan Karang, gave permission to the Tĕngananese I Rana and I Mandra to convert their *tĕgalan* lands into *sawahs* (an act prohibited by *adat*), with the proviso that for the first five years after conversion the full yield was to go to the two *gustis*, and thenceforth two-thirds of it. Later a controversy developed between the descendants of the two Tĕngananese and those of the two *gustis* regarding the exorbitant *pajĕg*, and the ruler took over the *pajĕg* levy and reduced it to one-tenth of the yield.

643 The ruler kept a part of the *pajĕg* rights in his own hands, and
651 passed on a part to court favourites as apanage rights; the latter
628 sort of levy was known as *pajĕg pĕnirian*. He also sold a part of his rights to the *desa* of Tĕnganan, which has continued to collect the *pajĕg* from the *sawah* holders. Some irrigation districts were not subject to the *pajĕg*, and all dry fields were exempt. The *pajĕg* was set once and for all for each irrigation district, and new *sawahs* were *pajĕg*-free. Why certain irrigation districts, namely Yeh Buah, Yeh Singa, and Babitunu, had been exempted from *pajĕg* the Tĕngananese were unable to say, though regarding Yeh Singa it was suggested that the reason may have been that the district did not contain any *sawahs* belonging to the *desa*.

The *pajĕg* was not heavy: for the eleven irrigation districts subject to it, it amounted to a total of roughly 960 imperial hundredweights of paddy, 133 of which were *pajĕg pĕnirian*. Expressed in present-day terms, the total value of the whole *pajĕg* would amount to roughly two hundred forty pounds sterling.

The ruler permitted a reduction in *pajĕg* in case of crop failure; whether such a reduction would be allowed was determined when

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the grain was ripe in the field. The *desa* collected the *pajĕg* and had the paddy threshed, then had it transported to Karangasĕm in the form of husked rice. A sum of sixty doits in cash was also paid with the *pajĕg;* this sum was not accepted until the *pajĕg* had been delivered in full, and was considered as a token indicating that the *pajĕg* had been paid.

Until 1912 this *pajĕg* continued to be paid to the head of the region of Karangasĕm. This is peculiar, for long before that all the revenues which the regional head had earlier collected from the people on the basis of his royal power had been converted into a liberal fixed income paid out of the regional treasury. Apparently the former regional head, Gusti Gĕde Jĕlantik, had regarded this *pajĕg* as a private source of income. That attitude cost the *desa* of Tĕnganan a great deal of money, for in 1912 a *sawah*-tax regulation was introduced, and the new head of the region pointed out that then the Tĕngananese would have to pay double *pajĕg* on their *sawahs* – once to him and once to the regional treasury. He was prepared to waive his *pajĕg* right, though in return for a flat sum of 2,332,800 doits, and the *desa* agreed.

At the same time, however, the *desa*'s lands were made subject to *sawah* and garden taxes, but since a significant part of the land consisted of offering *sawahs*, a fair proportion was exempted from those taxes. The landrent office unfortunately followed a less supple line, exempting only a small number of *sawahs* as temple grounds. The landrent is nowadays collected by the *sĕkahas charik* and transferred to the *pĕnglurah*, who deposits the money with the *sĕdahan agung*, the head of the regional landrent office.

When the Tĕngananese were subjected to soccage service after the war with Sibĕtan, there was also a need for an organization of the persons required to render such service. This gave rise to the system of *tempeks* under the *klihans tempek*, who in turn fall under the jurisdiction of the royal functionary in Puri Kĕlodan at Karangasĕm. The *sangyangs* were exempted from soccage service.

Though under ordinary circumstances services for the ruler were fairly light, in times of war a great deal was demanded of the

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628 villagers, and the elderly people in Tĕnganan still refer with
702 aversion to the expedition the ruler of Karangasĕm sent to the aid of Mĕngwi, which had been attacked by Badung and other realms. Military service was not restricted to the persons required to render soccage service: every able-bodied man in the village was called up. The boys, too, were given a task: that of bringing up provisions for the warriors. It hardly need be said that such military expeditions were little to the taste of the stay-at-home Tĕngananese, and there was a strong tendency to evade service. Provisions in the village constitution indicate, however, that the men who stayed behind will not have had too pleasant a time of it at home.

778 A more recent service incumbent on Tĕnganan is to be found in
628 the regulation for the maintenance of the *pura pĕnataran* of Bukit, the southern gate and the *gaduh* of which temple fall under the care of Tĕnganan together with the *desas* of Sĕngkidu, Mĕndira, Bĕwitan, Apityeh, Sĕlumbung, and Ulakan.

When Karangasĕm came under the direct rule of the Netherlands East Indies authorities and services consequently were reorganized, the regional head appointed a *pĕrbĕkĕl* for Tĕnganan together with Pasĕdahan, Dauh Tukad, Bukit, and Gumung. (Strangely enough, Kĕstala was placed under Bĕbandĕm, and Pĕkarangan under Ngis.)

628 The Tĕngananese maintain lively contact with the area from which their ancestors came, Bedahulu (which sends several *mangkus* to attend certain festivities in the *bale agung* at Tĕnganan every Kalima), and with the Bratanese in Buleleng. The few data published on the latter group of *Bali-agas* unquestionably indicate a close relationship with the Tĕngananese. Van Bloemen Waanders states that the Bratanese may not farm or trade, that they have only one language, Low Balinese, that they bury their dead
[582] rather than cremating them, and that endogamy prevails among them, marriage of members of the two lowest of the four classes with women of the two highest classes originally having been prohibited (though that prohibition has since lost its validity as a result of the decline in population).[1]

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The temple of Bĕsakih is considered by the Tĕngananese to be Bali's main sanctuary, and they often go there to fetch holy water, which is provided them by the *mangku gĕde*.

Relations with other villages have always been highly amicable, with a single exception when Sibĕtan invaded Tĕngananese territory some two centuries ago. The inhabitants of neighbouring villages often help to enliven Tĕngananese *adat* festivities. In particular the young people of Pasĕdahan are constantly in Tĕnganan during the month of Kalima, when they are allowed to make free use of the *desa* swings. The girls of Pasĕdahan, considered among the most beautiful on Bali, are in the swings day and night, letting the youths turn them round.

As a result of these friendly relations, when the *bale agung* in Tĕnganan caught fire in 1925 the people of the villages roundabout rushed to help, and the fire was quickly brought under control once the whole population of the large *desa* of Bugbug set itself to the task of tearing off the burning sugar-palm fibre from the roof.

Tĕnganan also enjoys the full cooperation of the neighbouring villages in juridical affairs, while it, in turn, often helps the villages around with irrigation water.

Religious ties are maintained with four villages, Ngis, Pĕkarangan, Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad, and Sibĕtan. In Kalima, the fifth month, the people of Tĕnganan, assisted by the village heads of Ngis, go collecting the *rampag* due from the latter village and Pĕkarangan. Pĕkarangan's *rampag* amounts to two hundred coconuts, and Ngis' to a thousand. On the ninth day of Kalima two persons from Ngis go to the *bale agung* at Tĕnganan to participate in the purification ceremony. They are treated to the feast, and are given rice and meat to take with them when they go back home in the evening. The people of Ngis also come to pray in the *pura pusĕh* in Tĕnganan, which was reputedly founded by Bĕgawan Enggong for both *desas*.[1] The people of Dauh Tukad, too, come to worship in various Tĕngananese temples. There is, moreover, a forest to the south of Ngis where the people of Tĕnganan may cut down trees for the *bale agung* and the *desa* temples.

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628 782 While Ngis and Pĕkarangan are in a certain tributary position towards Tĕnganan, the latter must itself pay a levy to Sibĕtan: namely, each year one *gĕringsing kain* with which to cover the offerings to the deity at Bangkah, accompanied by two hundred doits in cash.

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Full titles of books and articles, referred to in the notes by short keywords, will be found in the bibliography below.

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Introduction

1: Bali: some general information

1 Goris, "Besakih", 266.
2 *Volkstelling 1930*, V, 23, 172.
3 Bhadra, *Treaty*, 1.
4 *Cf.* Wertheim, *Transition* (second edition), 379.
5 *Volkstelling 1930*, V, 123.
6 Raka, *Monografi*, 30.
7 Lekkerkerker, "Toestand", 154–155, based on 1920 census data.
8 Wertheim, *Transition*, 1.
9 Van der Hoop, *Design*, 11 f.
10 See the language map by S. J. Esser, in *Atlas*, map 9b.
11 See below, sections one and two of Chapter Two.
12 For Sanskrit, *cf.* Gonda, *Sanskrit*.
13 For Javanese, *cf.* Gonda, "Vocabulary"; for Balinese, *cf.* Swellengrebel, "Translation".
14 Raka, *Monografi*, 50, 25–32, 48.
15 Goris, *Prasasti*, I, 23 (nr 439), 55, 121, 193 (nr 002).
16 See Liefrinck, *Bali*, 83.
17 See below, pp. 267–288.
18 Goris, "Bede", 1 f., 14.
19 Bhadra, *Treaty*, 1.
20 See below, pp. 77–100 and 101–111.
21 See below, pp. 187–231 and 155–185.
22 See below, pp. 233–265.
23 Lekkerkerker, *Bali*.
24 Goris, "Overzicht".
25 Lintgensz, "Bali".
26 Raffles, *History*, II, ccxxix–ccxl; Crawfurd, *History*, II, 236–258; Crawfurd, "Existence".
27 Friederich, "Verslag"; Friederich, "Account".
28 Friederich, "Oesana".
29 *E.g.* Van Bloemen Waanders, "Aanteekeningen".
30 *E.g.* Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*.
31 *E.g.* Van Eck, *Proeve;* Van Eck, "Schetsen".
32 Van Eck & Liefrinck, "Wetten".

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33 See Liefrinck, *Bali*, 9–163 (originally published in 1886–1887).
34 *Ibid.*, 194–407 (originally published in 1890).
35 The data which formed the basis for these two studies were published in Liefrinck, "Desa-monographieën".
36 See below, pp. 187–231 and 301–368.
37 Swellengrebel, *Verstemsijding*.
38 De Kat Angelino, "Adoptie"; De Kat Angelino, "Smeden"; De Kat Angelino, *Bali*.
39 Goris, *Bijdrage*, 137–150.

II: BALINESE HISTORY AND THE ELEMENTS OF BALINESE CULTURE

1 Friederich, "Oesana"; Berg, *Traditie*, 18, 97–102, 114 ff.
2 See Goris, *Prasasti*.
3 *Ibid.*, I, 9, 64 f., 131 (nr 103).
4 Stutterheim, *Oudheden*, II, Plates 11, 49, 61, I, 104, 114.
5 *Cf.* Van Leur, *Trade*, 98–110, 249–258.
6 Bosch, *Vraagstuk*, 23; see also below, section four of Chapter Four.
7 *Cf. e.g.* Goris, *Prasasti*, I, 80 ff., 147 ff., 198 ff. (nrs 901 ff.).
8 Goris, "Dinasti", 21 ff.
9 *Nāgarakrtāgama*, 42:1.
10 Goris, *Prasasti*, I, 44 (nrs 810 f.).
11 *Nāgarakrtāgama*, 49:4, according to Berg, *Traditie*, 116.
12 According to tradition in the year 1400 of the Javanese era, corresponding to 1478 A.D. According to modern historical research between 1514 and 1528 A.D.
13 *Nāgarakrtāgama*, 70:3.
14 Goris, *Prasasti*, I, 45 f. (nrs 901 f.).
15 *Nāgarakrtāgama*, 79:3.
16 Berg, *Pamañcangah*, contains the metrical version of this chronicle.
17 Berg, *Traditie*, 103 ff.
18 Berg, *Pamañcangah*, 1:6 reads Bheda-Mukha, a literary alternative for Bhedahulu, itself a variant of Badahulu (*Nāgarakrtāgama*, 14:3). The present name is Bĕdulu.
19 *Cf.* Berg, *Pamañcangah*, 1: 7–10, 14–27, 34–37, 28 ff.
20 Berg, *Traditie*, 121–130.
21 De Graaf, "Vorst", 63–66.
22 Berg, *Traditie*, 18–46.
23 *Cf.* Bhadra, "Mabasan".
24 Berg, *Traditie*, 115.
25 Berg, *Pamañcangah*, 4: 51; Berg, *Traditie*, 20–28, 37.
26 Raffles, *History*, I, 372.
27 Friederich, "Verslag", Part One, 61.

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28 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 8–33; Goris, "Mededeelingen"; Goris, "Gegevens"; Van ~~Vol~~ Stein Callenfels, "Rechten".
29 See below, section two of Chapter Four.
30 Schärer, *Gottesidee*, 68 ff.
31 Grader, "Madènan", 79.
32 Korn, *Tnganan*, 44 ff., 167 ff.
33 See below, section four of this chapter.
34 Goris & Dronkers, *Bali*.
35 A. N. J. Thomassen à Thuessink van der Hoop, in *ibid.*, 28 f.
36 Mainly on the basis of Goris, in *ibid.*, 39–45.
37 See below, pp. 77–100, 101–111, 155–185.
38 See below, sections four and five of Chapter Four, and pp. 131–153.
39 *Cf.* Goris, "Geloof".
40 *Cf.* above, section three of Chapter One.
41 See below, pp. 115–118.
42 For this and the four preceding items, *cf.* Goris, in Goris & Dronkers, *Bali*, 8a.
43 See below, pp. 293–295.
44 See above, the beginning of section two of Chapter One.
45 Berg, *Traditie*, 125 f.; Korn, *Adatrecht*, 77 ff.
46 *Cf.* Goris, *Prasasti*, I, 6 f., 9 ff. (nrs 003 f., 104, 107, 109, 201, 209, etc.).
47 *Cf.* below, p. 294.
48 See below, pp. 289–299.
49 *Cf.* below, pp. 201–204, 214–215.
50 See below, section two of Chapter Three.
51 *Cf.* Grader, "Tweedeeling", 45 ff., especially 59–61; Korn, *Adatrecht*, 93.
52 Bhadra, *Treaty*, 5.
53 See Goris & Dronkers, *Bali*, 127 f.
54 See below, part two of Chapter Three.
55 See above, part one of this chapter.
56 *Cf.* Berg, *Traditie*, 128 f.; Berg, *Pamañcangah*, 1: 157, 2: 4, 3: 30.
57 See below, section four of Chapter Three, *sub* (*e*).
58 See below, section four of Chapter Three, *sub* (*f*).
59 On this subject, see also Goris, "Besakih"; Goris, "Bede".

III: PATTERNS OF THE COSMIC ORDER

1 Belo, "Temper" (Summary), 414.
2 *Cf.* Grader, "Tweedeeling".
3 Matthes, *Makassaarsch woordenboek*, 598; Matthes, *Boginesch woordenboek*, 840; Van der Veen, *Woordenboek*, 99.
4 Goris, "Literature", 285 f.
5 For details, see Van der Kaaden, "Merana", 123–126.
6 See Korn, "Penida", 107–109.

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7 Schärer, *Gottesidee*, 75.
8 See above, sections one and four of Chapter Two.
9 See below, pp. 115–118.
10 See above, section four of Chapter Two.
11 Grader, "Koeboetambahan", 24; Grader, "Madènan", 76, 86, 100.
12 Grader, "Koeboetambahan", 16.
13 See below, section five of this chapter.
14 See below, pp. 119, 122.
15 See below, pp. 124–125.
16 See below, pp. 83–84, 107–108.
17 Spies, "Fest", 236, and photograph facing p. 243; see below, pp. 224–225.
18 For a short survey, see Hooykaas, "Verhaal". Seven tales on this motif have been brought together in Hooykaas, *Verhalen*.
19 *E. g.* in southern Borneo, see Schärer, *Gottesidee*, 87, 224–234.
20 See below, section seven of this chapter.
21 Swellengrebel, "Bezweringspreuken", 165 f., 174 (nrs 27, 31, 32).
22 See further section three of Chapter Four.
23 Van der Kaaden, "Gianjar".
24 Goris, "Geloof", 47 f.
25 Swellengrebel, *Verstenwijding*, 15 f., 25.
26 See below, section five of Chapter Four.
27 See below, section two of Chapter Four.
28 See above, section four of Chapter Two.
29 Goris, "Bede", 3 f.
30 See above, section two of this chapter.
31 See above, first paragraph of section two of this chapter.
32 Swellengrebel, *Verstenwijding*, 7–10, 13–15, 24.
33 See below, pp. 170, 223.
34 See below, section four of Chapter Four.
35 Goris, "Feest", 102.
36 See above, section two of this chapter.
37 De Kat Angelino, "Léak", 23.
38 See above, section four of this chapter, *sub* (*f*).
39 Poerbatjaraka, "Calon-Arang", 126, 139.
40 See above, section three of this chapter.
41 De Vroom, "Liefde", v. 48.
42 Bhadra, review, 23. *Cf.* also De Vroom, "Volksgedicht", 437–441 n. 25.
43 See below, section one of Chapter Four.
44 Grader, "Koeboetambahan", 29.
45 Goris, "Besakih", 276.
46 De Vroom, "Liefde", vv. 37–60; "I Bagus Diarsa", in Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, *Gast*, 91 (v. 143).
47 See below, pp. 166–167.

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IV: RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF THE FAMILY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

1 See below, in particular pp. 77–100, 101–111, 155–185 and 187–231.
2 Grader, "Koeboetambahan", 9; Agerbeek, "Gebruiken", 12 f.
3 Grader, "Koeboetambahan", 7–13, 29; Hunger, "Kinderen", 216–218.
4 See below, pp. 122 (nr 6), 380 n. 6.
5 See above, section four of Chapter Three, *sub* (*f*).
6 Liefrinck, *Bali*, 213, mentions three stages, with a second shrine of bamboo, and the third of wood.
7 See below, pp. 193–195.
8 See above, section four of Chapter Three, *sub* (*f*).
9 See below, section four of this chapter.
10 See below, pp. 123 (nrs 4, 6, 7), 124 (15), 125 (21), 127 (24), 129 (31).
11 See above, section two of Chapter Three.
12 Djelantik, "Leven", 19.
13 Agerbeek, "Gebruiken"; Hunger, "Uitgaven", 610–626; Agoeng, "Familieleven"; Korn, *Tnganan*, 44–51, 163–175.
14 See below, p. 117.
15 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, I, 647, under *cholong*.
16 Swellengrebel, "Bezweringsspreuken", 161 f. (nrs 6, 7, and 9).
17 Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, "Journey", 270.
18 Jacobs, "Gegevens", 370.
19 See below, p. 141.
20 Jacobs, "Gegevens", 370.
21 See below, pp. 131–153.
22 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, III, 459, under *wintin*.
23 Books written on the subject are Wirz, *Totenkult*, and Crucq, *Bijdrage*.
24 See above, section four of Chapter Three, *sub* (*a*).
25 See above, section four of Chapter Two, *sub* (*c*).
26 Bhadra, *Treaty*, 9.
27 See below, pp. 289–299.
28 See above, section four of Chapter Two.
29 Bosch, *Vraagstuk*, 23.
30 See below, pp. 131–153.
31 *Cf.* Schomerus, *Mystik*.
32 According to Pott, *Yoga*, 119 f., summarizing Moens, "Mendut", 529 ff.
33 See above, section five of Chapter Three.
34 See above, section two of this chapter.
35 *Cf.* especially Goris, *Bijdrage*, Chapter Two (pp. 54–135); Goris, "Literature", 281–285; Weck, *Heilkunde*.
36 Goris, *Bijdrage*, Chapter One (pp. 4–53); De Kat Angelino, *Bali*, 41–58, Plates 4–57 by Tyra A. de Kleen.
37 See above, section four of Chapter Three, *sub* (*d*).

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38 See Goris, "Geloof", 48.

39 If he does the latter, he is said to *mtsiwa ki Boda* (Korn, *Adatrecht*, 142), literally "have a Buddha as Çiwa", or more freely to "be disciple of a *pĕdanda Boda*".

40 Rassers, "Çiwa", 229–233; Goris, "Secten", 39, 49 f.

41 Bosch, "Kĕloerak", 21 f. (vv. 14 & 15), 49; Pott, *Yoga*, 131 f.

42 Bosch, *Vraagstuk*, 23; Goris, "Secten", 41 f.

43 Agerbeek, "Gebruiken", 13.

44 See above, sections four, *sub* (*e*), and five of Chapter Three.

45 See above, section four of Chapter Two, *sub* (*d*).

46 See below, pp. 164–166.

47 Jacobs, "Gegevens", 368.

48 See above, section four of Chapter Two.

49 See above, section five of Chapter Three.

50 See above, section four of Chapter Three, *sub* (*e*).

51 Berg, *Traditie*, 142, following the *Pĕmĕnchangah*.

52 See above, section four of this chapter.

V: SOME RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS OF TODAY

1 See below, pp. 233–265.

2 See below, pp. 224–226.

3 See below, section three of this chapter.

4 Shanty, "Agama".

5 Tisna, *Widiada*.

6 See above, section seven of Chapter Three.

7 Djelantik, in Hooykaas, "Çängkhya", 438, 441, 479, etc.; Hadrya, *Tjakepan*, 7.

8 Bhadra, *Karangan*, 4; Bhadra, *Treaty*, 11 f.

9 Sugriwa, "Kebangsaan", in response to answer four in the "Rubrik obor" (Information Column), *Mimbar Indonesia* (Indonesian Podium), VII,: (3 January, 1953), 30.

10 Dimyati, "Bahaja", answered by Shanty, "Agama". Dimyati's rejoinder, "Demokrasi", like "Bahaja", was based on Moslem assumptions. After the above was written the Minister of Religious Affairs reportedly promised, during parliamentary debate on the budget held in 1958, that a section for Bali-Hindu religion was to be created in the ministry.

11 See above, sections one and two of Chapter Two.

12 Sugriwa, *Bali*.

13 See below, pp. 113–129.

14 Sugriwa, *Bali*, 13.

15 See above, sections one and four, *sub* (*e*), of Chapter Two.

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1 Lekkerkerker, "Zending", 836.
2 Source not located. [Editorial note]
3 Korn, "Bali", 44.
4 Liefrinck, *Bali*, 230–231.
5 *Ibid.*, 317–320.
6 See *e.g.* K., "Bantang"; Jacobs, "Gegevens", 383.
7 See also Korn, *Tnganan*, 8–11 (on forbidden and compulsory activities), 198 (on the service of the gods).
8 See below, p. 118.
9 On Nyĕpi, see Goris, "Secten", 48; Goris, "Overeenkomst", 311; see also below, pp. 119, 122.
10 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 80–83.
11 Van der Tuuk (*Woordenboek*, IV, 86, 184) considers the word *pirata* as a metathesis of *pitara*. In my opinion, however, it is a corruption of *preta*, 'soul of the nether world', later given a formation parallel to *pitara*.
12 *Pitara*, from the Sanskrit plural *pitaras*, the forefathers, the deceased ancestors.
13 Though a clear distinction is made between these terms in older writings, in more recent times they are used more or less synonymously.
14 *Tilĕm* is derived from the same root *-lĕm* (*-rĕm*, *-dĕm*, *-nĕm:* 'deep', 'dark') as *dalĕm* (to bury), *tanĕm* (to plant), *sĕlĕm* (black), *silĕm* (to dive), and *kĕlĕm* (to sink), as well as many Malay and Javanese words.
15 *Setra* from Sanskrit *kṣetra* (field, burial ground); *sĕma* from Sanskrit *çmaçāna* (graveyard, place of cremation).
16 *Kaja* signifies 'mountainwards', as against *kĕlod*, 'seawards'. *Ja* comes from *dya* (*darat*, *ra'a:* 'landwards'), *cf. den* in Den Pasar, Den Bukit, and so forth. *Kĕlod* derives from the same root as *laut* (sea), *lŏr* (*lĕr*, south), and the like. As a result of the particular geological structure of Bali, with the highest mountain ridges in the central part of the island, in northern Bali *kaja* is the equivalent of 'southwards' and *kĕlod* of 'northwards'. In southern Bali the situation is the reverse, while in the mountain areas the local situation serves to determine usage.
17 *Pusĕh* and *pusĕr* are both used for 'navel' in the metaphorical sense; the ordinary word for 'navel' is *pungsĕd*. The older form, *pusĕr*, is reserved for general sanctuaries such as the *pusĕr ing jagat* and the *pusĕr ing tasik*, and the more recent form, *pusĕh*, is used in connection with the *desa* temple.
18 See Korn, *Adatrecht*, 84, 188–189, 192.
19 The design of Bĕsakih (to which I plan to return at another time when considering in detail early Balinese epigraphs painted on wood and dating from 1366 and 1380 *Çāka* [1444 and 1448 A.D.] which were discovered in Pura Pĕnataran Agung) is tripartite even in details: to the northwest is the Bangli

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complex with black standards, in the middle the state (Balinese) complex with white standards, to the south(east) the Karangasĕm complex with red standards. See also Goris, "Besakih".

20 See Stutterheim, "Meaning".

21 *Parba*, from Sanskrit *prabhā*, 'splendour', 'aureole', 'halo'.

22 Both the snake (Sanskrit *ahi*) and the dragon (Sanskrit *nāga*) are to be found in early texts treating the zodiac. The distinction is also made in Chinese texts: see Lüders, "Geschichte".

23 A series of brief *desa* monographs on the villages around Lake Batur is soon to appear. The material was collected by C. J. Grader, assistant *controleur*, who was stationed at Kintamani for eight months for administrative reasons, and made use of this unique opportunity to collect a large amount of ethnographic, religious, and historical data. [For the only one of these monographs published, see Grader, "Madènan". Editorial note]

24 The material will soon be published in full.

25 See Jacobs, "Gegevens", 352.

26 *Ibid.*, 354.

27 *Ibid.*, 357.

28 *Ibid.*, 362.

29 A very satisfactory term which was introduced by Korn: see Korn, *Adatrecht*, 77 ff.

30 Jacobs, "Gegevens", 350.

31 *Ibid.*, 356.

32 *Ibid.*, 359.

33 *Ibid.*, 368.

34 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 192. The *pasĕk*, the *ngukuhin*, and the *juru* are officials of the newer type, the *kĕbayan* and the *pĕnyarikan* of the older.

35 Liefrinck, "Desa-monographieën", 60.

36 *Ibid.*, 63.

37 *Ibid.*, 66.

38 *Ibid.*, 125.

39 *Ibid.*, 145.

40 Korn's remarks on the *pasĕks* and the *bĕndesas* (in his *Adatrecht*, 151–154), though highly important in themselves, are based on more recent sources: the *babads* and other writings of the Gelgel period. These later observations, recorded under Hindu-Javanese influence, have far less value for our understanding of the original structure of the village administration than do the conditions still prevailing in the so-called *Bali-aga* villages, for instance those around Lake Batur.

41 Liefrinck, "Desa-monographieën", 76–78.

42 *Ibid.*, 103–104.

43 *Ibid.*, 109.

44 *Ibid.*, 139–141.

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43 *Ibid.*, 183–184.
46 *Ibid.*, 337–338.
47 A striking confirmation of the connection between *tilèm* and *dalèm*; *cf.* above, n. 14.
48 Liefrinck, "Desa-monographieën".
49 See *ibid.*, 77, 299; Korn, *Adatrecht*, 185 f.
50 *Ibid.*, 209.
51 See Goris, "Pèdjèng"; Goris, "Galiran"; Goris, "Oudheden", 40, 41, 43–45, 46; Spies, "Fest".
52 See above, n. 9.
53 Korn, *Tnganan*, 176–227 ('The Festival Calendar').
54 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 89.
55 On *bukakak*, see Goris, "Oudheden", 43–45; Goris, "Overeenkomst", 311–312.
56 Bosch, "Bali", 8–16.
57 This nether worldly offering is also known among the Hindus.
58 Korn, *Tnganan*, 138.

The Temple System

1 Many Balinese temples own ricefields (*laba pura*), and some of them also gardens or other agrarian property. On the *laba pura*, see Korn, *Adatrecht*, 174, 308, 540, 562, 592.

2 It is not possible here to digress on the sacral character of the *sĕlunding*, which was demonstrated anew at the great festival of the dead celebrated in the Karangasĕm *puri* in August, 1937. On this sacral character, see Korn, *Tnganan*, 181–182, 185–186, 189, 191, 195–197, 201, 205–206, 208–211, 214; Spies, "Fest", 234 ff.; Boekian, "Kajoebii", especially 128 ff. It should be noted that many early royal edicts contain specific stipulations regarding the *sĕlunding*.

3 On the *bale agung*, see Korn, *Adatrecht*, 84, 188 f., 192; Grader, "Tweedeeling", 51; above, pp. 85–87.

4 It is not possible to deal at length with the *manjangan sĕluwang* in this survey. On Bali, also in the *sanggahs*, the chapel 'with the deer', or 'with the deer's head and antlers', is generally said to be the lodging (*pĕlinggih*) of Batara Majapahit, Maospait, or Maspait. On the other hand, the *pande wĕsi* venerate their *batara* with this deer's head even in their cremation tower (*cf.* below, p. 388 n. 2 of Appendix; and the description of Pura Dasar Gelgel in Goris, "Tempelwezen", 37); in the *puri* of Gianyar the *manjangan sĕluwang* is considered to be dedicated especially to the mount of Ĕmpu Kuturan (*cf.* Van der Kaaden, "Gianjar", 397), while on Nusa Pĕnida it is dedicated to Bagawan Tumanglang (*cf.* Grader, "Dorpsbestuur", 378); and there is a very close

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relationship between the *gamelan sělunding* and Batara Maospait (see Spies, "Fest", 234; Boekian, "Kajoebli", 128 ff.).

5 See above, p. 86. Apparently some young language purists in southern Bali nowadays speak of *chandi gibak* or *chandi sibak* instead of *chandi bintar*.

6 Sometimes there are three *gědongs:* this is the case not only in the *sanggahs* of the village of Sukawana, but also in the two famous temples Pura Beji of Sangsit and Pura Maduwe Karang of Kubutambahan. This would seem to warrant the tentative conclusion that the *gědongs* form a survival of a very old, widespread sun cult such as is also to be encountered in the Maya antiquities of Mexico. In this system the central structure, which must be open, is that of the sun god, and the two closed structures (*gědongs*) are those of the ancestors, divided into males and females. This hypothesis is lent support by the fact that such structures are still to be found in many *puras dalĕm* and agricultural temples in the region of Buleleng. An architectural argument in favour of the hypothesis may be seen in the three separate flights of stairs (*undag*) interrupting the stone-terrace (*pangka*) construction. In Buleleng nowadays the terraces, stairs, and *gědongs* are together called *bĕbataran*. In Muntig, in Karangasĕm, there is a similar sanctuary with terraces (*pangkĕd*) and three flights of stairs (*trăgtăg*) but with three *merus* on the highest terrace.

7 On the meaning of *titi gonggang* and *chang apit*, see above, p. 86; and Grader, "Tweedeeling", 58.

8 On the distinction between the already-purified *pitaras* and the not-yet-purified *piratas*, see above, pp. 84, 377 nn. 11 & 12.

9 The god of the dead is also venerated in the *pura dalĕm*, sometimes conceived of as a male deity, Batara Gĕde Dalĕm, sometimes (more in keeping with Hindu tradition) as the female Batari Durga, while there is moreover occasional mention of a married couple. All this is also linked up with Balinese conceptions of the relationship between death and fertility. The view is generally prevalent that there are a number of manifestations of Durga. In her favourable aspect she is often called Uma, whereas Durga represents her unfavourable aspect. (For the horrible aspect of Durga-mahisa-asuramardini, as portrayed in the image in the temple of Bukit Darma in the village of Buruan [now called Kutri], an image which at the same time commemorates Erlangga's mother, see Stutterheim, *Oudheden*, I, 127 and Plate 27.) Present-day Balinese believe that Durga may manifest herself as Rangda, but that she is bound in and to the *pura dalĕm*.

10 In northern Bali *pura bĕdugul* is used as a synonym of *pura subak*.

11 The Sanskrit word *utsava* means beginning, enterprise, but also holiday or holy day. Some temples distinguish one *odalan* every two hundred ten days and one *usaba* every twelve lunar months. There are also other possible combinations: Pura Kĕhĕn of Bangli, for example, has its *odalan* on Pagorsi (Wednesday-Klion in the week of Sinta) and besides a three-yearly *usaba* on the full moon in the month of Kalima.

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HOLIDAYS AND HOLY DAYS

1 See Goris, "Perhitoengan"; Goris, "Hari"; Goris, "Overseenkomst".

2 The new moon system is called *amānta*, and is followed in South India, Maharashtra, and Bengal. Probably the Balinese obtained it from Bengal, under the influence of Nālandā. The other system is called *pūrṇimānta*, and is followed in northern India and Telengana. It should be mentioned that the *amānta* system is also followed in the *Sūryasiddhānta*, a work on astronomy dating from around 400 A.D. Though I was informed by Balinese that a calendar reckoning from full moon to full moon was sometimes followed here and there on Bali, inquiry failed to lead to any further information. [171 805]

3 This *pĕnampihan sasih* should not be confused with the expression *pĕnampian sasih*, designating the ordinary succession of one month after another. *Pĕnampihan* comes from *tampi:* to receive, to accommodate.

4 Āçwina is used in India, Asuji in Old Javanese documents.

5 With regard to this phenomenon that the last two months of the year have retained only Hindu names, and no Balinese numerals, it is of importance to point to the tradition recorded in the 'holy scripture' of Tĕnganan that the early ruler Bĕgawan Sĕganing Ening gave the Balinese two new months, Jesta (Desta) and Sada: Korn, *Tnganan*, 146.

6 Unfortunately I lack data regarding the other regions, despite repeated requests for information.

7 Javanese and literary Balinese *wuku*.

8 In which reference is made to a *pasar di wijayapura*, *wijayamanggala*, and *wijayakrānta*. In Tĕnganan a combination of the five-day and the three-day week is used. Two fifteen-day (5 × 3) periods form a Tĕngananese month, and twelve such months a year. For further details see Korn, *Tnganan*, 176 ff. [805]

9 Some Balinese figure exclusively in these *ukus* or *wukus*. Five of them form a *tumpĕk*, which then counts as a month (*bulan*), and twelve *tumpĕks* are a year, which thus consists of two *odalans* of 210 days each. [805]

10 With a few exceptions.

11 Something similar is, however, to be found in a weaker form in the western districts of Buleleng, especially in Pĕngastulan, where there are forty-nine temple festivals according to the Hindu-Balinese calendar, thirty-five according to the Javanese-Balinese, and seventy-two after the harvest (*usaba*). [796]

12 Tĕnganan has a quite unique calendar of holidays, the remarkable thing being that all festivals except Achi Galungan Bali follow the month system and not the *ukus*. For a detailed treatment of the subject see Korn, *Tnganan*, 176–227.

13 The epigraphs give quite a different impression for earlier times: in them only festivals according to the Hindu-Balinese calendar are mentioned. Listed are one in the month of Māgha, usually further identified with *mahānawamī* (on the 'great ninth'), plus one called *panghujung*, now unknown; one in the [796]

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month Caitra, sometimes further defined as on the third: *caitra matĕlu;* one in the month Kārtika indicated with the words *ring kārtikāntara* (in the 'intermediary' Kārtika); and for Tĕrunyan on Lake Batur the great festival in the month of Bhādrapada. From an edict dated 1126 concerning the *desa* of Bangli it is known that the various temple festivals there then followed the months, and not yet the *uku* calendar, while the festival of *pawisuwa*, at the equinox (Sanskrit *wiṣuwa*), is mentioned in several early documents. I have been too pressed for time to be able to make a comparative study of the Hindu-Balinese festivals according to the epigraphic remains and those of Tĕnganan.

14 *Labuh gĕntuh: labuh* means 'to fall', *gĕntuh* 'clamour', 'din'. The conception is that at this time Yama, the god of the dead, wishes to sweep out hell, and its inhabitants, the *butas* and *pretas*, are chased away; they fall out of the nether world, and raise a clamour and din on earth. Hence they make the earth unsafe during Nyĕpi and it is for this reason that people stay indoors and put out the fires and lights.

15 See Goris, "Secten", 48.

16 Not only that black is the colour of Durga and the north; the countless goat offerings made to the goddess throughout India are well known.

17 Earlier also in Buleleng, but in recent times discouraged or prohibited by the Dutch authorities there because of the serious skirmishes growing out of it.

18 For further deviating customs, see N., "Njepi", 118 ff. Korn lists a number of other festivals following the Hindu-Balinese calendar (*Tnganan*, 176 n. 1), but they are to be found only in southern Bali, and many of them only in Gianyar.

19 In Tĕnganan (see *ibid.*, 194) there is reference to a festival in the *pura gaduh*, the residence of Dewi Mĕrta.

20 In the *lontars* one sometimes finds Choma Ribĕk, but that spelling is both pedantic and incorrect, as Van der Tuuk has already commented.

21 The palace of Watu-Gunung, the husband of Sinta, is called Giling Wĕsi.

22 In the holy scripture of Tĕnganan, Mahadewa is considered as the deity of four mountains. See Korn, *Tnganan*, 149 and, in a deviant form, *ibid.*, 152.

23 The *lontars* also refer to him as Kala Tiga.

24 If the *desa* is ritually impure *penjors* are not erected.

25 See Drewes, *Goeroe's*, 149–150; Codex Nr 3898 (Leiden University Library), ff. 12–15, 49 f., 54 f.; Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, IV, 406–407 (under *jaya*), 363 (under *jinah*), I, 783 (under *rimah*).

26 Tradition makes Jayakĕsunu Jayapangus' successor, but according to the edicts now known to us Jayapangus was followed by Çakalenḍu after a twenty-year interval. The Tĕnganese tradition also deviates on this point: see Korn, *Tnganan*, 147, 149.

27 See Berg, *Traditie*, 101; Berg, *Sundâyana*, 163; Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, II, 689–690 (under *ulu*).

28 *Cf.* the classical Roman year, beginning with the Ides of March (the

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spring equinox), and the later Roman Christian year, beginning with the first of January, that is to say two and a half months earlier.

29 *Cf.* the Watu-Gunung legend, for example at the beginning of the *Babad Tanah Jawi.*

30 Some Balinese take the two extremes, thus obtaining a period of forty-five days (35 + 10). In Bangli the period runs from Saturday-Pon in Dungulan to Saturday-Pon in Paang.

31 See Liefrinck, *Bali*, 205–208, who makes a distinction between *sakti kĕmulan* and Dalĕm Ḳĕmĕnuh, and mentions Dewi Sri as a third *rambut-sĕdana.* *Cf.* also Goris, "Secten", 47.

32 The text of this wayang play is published in Van Stein Callenfels, "Kunst".

33 *Cf.* the Lorelei legend, in which the combing of the hair also leads to misfortune.

34 The reverse complex – marriage between father and daughter – is to be found in any number of folk tales in which Rawana is the father of Sita.

The Consecration of a Priest

1 There are, for instance, disquisitions in the *Bodakĕchapi* on diagnosis, in the *Usada Paribasa* on the meanings of the names for illnesses, in the *Usada Dalĕm* on healthful foods, in the *Anda* on smallpox, and in the *Bodatuwa* on venereal diseases.

2 Goris, *Bijdrage.* For what follows, see p. 144.

3 *Cf.* Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, I, 225. [Editorial note]

4 Kern, *Buddhisme*, I, 424.

5 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, IV, 111, where the spellings *prĕwita* and *pĕrwita* are given.

6 *Ibid.*, IV, 660.

7 Juynboll, *Woordenlijst*, 178.

8 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, IV, 518.

9 *Ibid.*, IV, 303.

10 *Ibid.*, IV, 237.

11 *Ibid.*, IV, 76.

12 Van Eck, *Proeve*, 238.

13 On this evolutionary series, see Goris, *Bijdrage*, 94.

14 The *karaboda* is not known in Buleleng, but informant felt that the ritual performed there with the *kusasparsa* (twisted blades of grass above the handle of the holy-water sprinkler of *alang-alang*) during the consecration has the same significance of symbolic purification as that performed with the *karaboda* in southern Bali.

15 For a detailed treatment of the *pĕnugrahan*, see De Kat Angelino, *Bali*, 25 and Plate V.

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THE STATE TEMPLES OF MĒNGWI

1 See below, p. 275.
2 Goslings, "Lombok".
3 See the illustrations in Nieuwenkamp, *Bali*, 173 ff.
4 Stutterheim, "Bali", 77 ff.
5 Dronkers, "Werk".
6 On Panji Sakti as a historical figure, see De Graaf, "Vorst". *Cf.* below, pp. 197–198.

PĒMAYUN TEMPLE OF THE BANJAR OF TĒGAL

1 Goris, "Aanteekeningen", 251–252.
2 *Cf.* De Kat Angelino, "Sakti".
3 Boekian, "Kajoebii", 130–131.
4 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, II, 526.
5 *Mbiasa:* perhaps from Sanskrit *yaça*. In the region of Karangasēm the word is used not only to designate this ceremonial dance, but also in the sense of a procession of the gods in their palanquins. Often such a procession has the character of a pilgrimage to a special sanctuary or of an exorcizing of evil influences.
6 The performance of *baris* dances as a part of a temple ceremony is familiar throughout Bali. Spies & Goris ("Overzicht", 206–209) mention thirty variant forms of the *baris*, including the *baris pendet*. A description of various sorts of *baris pendet* different from the form danced in Pura Pēmayun is given in De Zoete & Spies, *Dance*, 64–66.
7 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, IV, 27.
8 In apposition to the *gawe ayu* (temple festivities, weddings, tooth-filing, and the like) are the *gawe duka* ceremonies, having to do with the ritual for the dead. Related to the apposition is the custom that the *klihan banjar* in charge of the internal affairs of the *banjar* association is called *klihan suka-duka*, that is to say the *klihan* who looks after the *adat* (*ala-ayu*), the offering ceremony (*ayu*), and the rites for the dead (*ala*). On the other hand the *klihan banjar* who is under the *pĕrbĕkĕl* as the lowest-ranking official in the regional administrative apparatus, in which function he serves as an intermediary in collecting taxes and arranging for compulsory service, is described characteristically as *klihan dienst*, *klihan buku*, or *klihan kumpani:* the *klihan* of the service, the books, the East India Company. In most cases the *klihan suka-duka* also serves as *klihan dienst*.
9 De Zoete & Spies, *Dance*, 63–64.
10 *Cf.* Grader, "Tweedeeling", 55 ff.
11 *Cf.* Boekian, "Kajoebii", 128–130.
12 *Cf.* Spies, "Fest", 236.

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13 Van der Tuuk (*Woordenboek*, IV, 320, under *pangkonan*) speaks of a portion of rice for four persons pressed into a pyramid shape.

The Festival of Jayaprana at Kalianget

1 Specific cremations have been described by spectators in any number of articles. There are two studies on Balinese cremation in general: Wirz, *Totenkult;* and Crucq, *Bijdrage*. See also Goris & Dronkers, *Bali*, which contains a description of cremation (pp. 125 ff.).

2 Bateson & Mead, *Character*, 46.

3 According to the customary right of *champur*. *Cf.* Korn, *Adatrecht*, 38–39, 532–533.

4 For their activities, *cf.* Bhadra, "Mabasan".

5 Such a performance was the motive for the Dutch author Jef Last to write his play *Djajaprana*, which was first published in 1954. Further evidence of the interest in the theme was given in 1957, when a feature film entitled *Djajaprana* was released by the Indonesian national film company PFN; the story and scenario for the film were written by Katot Sukardi, who also directed the production. In 1958 Professor Hooykaas edited a critical edition of the text of the ballad: see Hooykaas, *Lay*. [Editorial note]

6 *Djajaprana*.

7 The old woman who introduced me to the village elders afterwards had to carry on a lengthy discussion with them in order to bring about a more friendly attitude towards the Dutch. Concerning her, *cf.* below, p. 258.

8 People in the *desa* stated that the families of the *anak agung* and the *patih*, the two persons who together were guilty of the murder, had asked permission to participate in the cremation. *Cf.* below, p. 259.

9 *Cf.* Korn, *Adatrecht*, 644. According to the ballad, Jayaprana was a *jaba*, an 'outsider', not belonging to one of the three upper castes. However, people essayed a study in 'textual criticism' and looked for a *lontar* containing data which would prove that Jayaprana was indeed a member of one of the upper castes. For that reason the *lontar* in the collection of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation was rejected.

10 Appropriation at a cremation of a rank above one's actual status at birth is punished by the gods: *cf.* Wirz, *Totenkult*, 37.

11 The pure-white cow is used as the cremation animal for Brahmins and *ksatriyas* (*ibid.*, 45). Remarkable was the absence of the dragon and the bird near the *damar kurung* (*ibid.*, 27), the two *dawang-dawang*, or dummies, which in northern Bali are never wanting in the *mĕdeheng*. I was also told that for the construction of the cremation animals forbidden kinds of wood were used. As to the exclusive use of white for all objects, *cf.* below, p. 252. A lotus-seat is usually white enriched with gold; this one was exclusively white.

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12 The prescribed offerings are described in detail by Wirz, *Totenkult*, 98 ff. I did not note whether intentional deviations were made in the nature of the offerings, but the *desa* did use almost exclusively white flowers.

13 *Cf.* De Zoete & Spies, *Dance*, Chapter XI. They deal only with the artistic aspect of the dance. What Bateson and Mead wrote about the dance (*Character*, Plate 59 [p. 172]) is closer to present practice. Early in 1949 a veritable *joged* epidemic broke out in northern Bali, to diminish only towards the end of the year. Presumably much of the tension of the war situation – which lasted until the middle of 1948 – found an outlet there. Indonesians in responsible position considered the dance as inferior and its influence on school children disastrous. Though in[illegible]y the authorities made an effort to forbid it, this time they did not succeed in their endeavour.

14 Wirz, *Totenkult*, 54.

15 This connection of Jayaprana with Pulaki resulted in the origin of a completely new myth. When this connection was made for the first time, I do not know. It is, however, improbable that many people saw from the beginning how this detail would in the course of time be exploited for the glorification of Jayaprana.

16 Wirz, *Totenkult*, 57.

17 Crucq (*Bijdrage*, 65) mentions a similar ceremony performed by relatives. *Cf.* Korn, *Tnganan*, 172: *misulup*.

18 Hooykaas, *Verhalen*, 15. Hooykaas places Pulaki too far to the west on Bali.

19 *Cf.* Bateson & Mead, *Character*, 3 and Plate 5, nrs 1–4.

20 *Cf.* Crucq, *Bijdrage*, 24.

21 During *suryaseŵana* the *pĕdanda* wears a headband made of grass. See De Kat Angelino, *Bali*, 46, Plates 39–48; *cf.* Wirz, *Totenkult*, 65 f.: a band of grass around the head after purification. The *pĕmangku* when officiating usually wears a white headcloth (*cf.* Swellengrebel, *Bali*, Plate 22). The application in Kaliangĕt, however, may be considered a modernism. *Cf.* the movement in Sangsit. Nowadays one may also see temple images adorned in this way for certain festivities.

22 Whosoever dedicates himself to death clothes himself in white. Jayaprana did so, according to the *lontars*. So also did the rulers and their retinues when they made their ceremonial suicidal sortie (*puputan*) in the face of the Dutch armies (Badung, 1906; Klungkung, 1908). This feature is also to be found in other folk tales (*e. g.* Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp, *Gast*, 116, canto 231). But the *pĕdanda* also dresses in white for the morning ritual (De Kat Angelino, *Bali*, 42), and the *pĕmangku* likewise for the temple service.

23 Wirz, *Totenkult*, 186. For the arrangement of this procession, in which the effigies were carried, *cf.* the appendix. One finds there the complete contents of the *bale badung*, with the exception only of the less important basket work.

24 *Cf.* Korn, *Adatrecht*, 143; Berg, *Traditie*, 20.

25 *Cf. ibid.*, 24; Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, IV, 237a.

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26 The same motif is to be found in Pigeaud, "Verhaal", 186.

27 See the trance in the description by Bateson & Mead, *Character*, 70, 77; *cf.* Bateson, "Temple", 291: "one other official ...", etc.

28 Dr P. V. van Stein Callenfels, who travelled often and widely on Bali as inspector of the former Netherlands East Indies Archeological Survey, is clearly the person meant. The *Oudheidkundig Verslag* does not mention any findings in the river between Banjar and Kaliangèt. [Editorial note]

29 Adapted from the summary: Bateson, "Temple", 308.

30 Puthra, *Djajaprana*.

The Irrigation System in the Region of Jembrana

1 *Staatsblad*, 1891, no 97.

2 See below, part four of this article.

3 See below, p. 277.

4 The distribution blocks (*témukus*), of wood or concrete, have two or more scupper holes at the top to direct irrigation water into various secondary ditches and conduits.

5 *Angapus pengayah tingkahe*, literally 'stealing persons liable to serve'.

6 See above, n. 4.

7 See "Reglement op de inheemsche rechtspraak in het gewest Bali en Lombok" (Regulation on Native Administration of Justice in the Territory of Bali and Lombok), §§ 3 & 12 (published as Extra-Bijvoegsel inhoudende locale verordeningen, andere beschikkingen van locale raden en gewestelijke verordeningen [Extra Supplement Containing Local Ordinances, Other Decisions of Local Councils, and Territorial Ordinances], Nr 50: *Javasche Courant* [Java Gazette], 9 October, 1936 [Nr 81]).

The Position of the Blacksmiths

1 See Van Ossenbruggen, "Begrip", 368.

2 Van Ossenbruggen, "Theorie".

3 De Kat Angelino, "Smeden".

4 Stutterheim, "Koper".

5 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 89.

6 De Kat Angelino, "Smeden".

7 Lekkerkerker, *Hindoe-recht*, 33, 137, 138, 145.

8 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 21–26, especially 23.

9 See particularly Lekkerkerker, "Kastenmaatschappij".

10 A study of the early Balinese epigraphs, only a part of which have been published up to the time of writing, might bring clarification on this point.

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11 The *sudras* who trace their origin to Majapahit are sometimes called *sudra jati*, and those of Balinese origin *kĕtamen* (according to Korn, *Adatrecht*, 87), though these designations are not used everywhere. The latter term is also given by Van der Tuuk (*Woordenboek*, III, 31, under *sami*) in the expression *ttĕpang kĕtamen*, 'we *sudras*'. This phrase is only used when the person availing himself of it finds it humiliating to label himself a *kaula* or *sudra*. *Sudra* is never used in its real meaning.

12 The village of Tĕnganan manifests a transitional form between Hindu-Balinese and *Bali-aga:* see Korn, *Tnganan*.

13 Lekkerkerker, *Hindoe-recht*, 11, and Korn, *Adatrecht*, 83, give the figure of 6.4 per cent.

14 See the listing of such groups in Korn, *Adatrecht*, 88.

15 Van Eck, "Schetsen", VIII, 130.

16 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 88.

APPENDIX: PRÉCIS OF A LONTAR USED BY THE BLACKSMITHS

1 These important *mantras* have not yet been published, but I have been able to make copies of them from material collected by Professor Schrieke which he was so kind as to lend me for perusal.

2 I hope to treat the equivalence of Taya, Boda, and Jina elsewhere. Here I need only mention that Taya is worshipped at the 'Maospait' altar in the form of a deer's head. The link between the deer's head and the rainbow, and the significance of the deer as a symbol for Buddhists, need further study.

3 On the stages of early Javanese religious literature, see Goris, *Bijdrage*, 69–75, 136.

4 See Pigeaud, *Panggĕlaran*.

5 A few of these *mantras*, those for the various tools, were published in De Kat Angelino, "Smeden".

THE VILLAGE REPUBLIC OF TĔNGANAN PĔGĔRINGSINGAN

I: THE VILLAGE AND THE VILLAGERS

1 This was the situation at the time I made this study. Now, however, there is a bridge across the ravine, dating from 1928.

2 Van der Tuuk states that the *sanggah kĕmulan* has three compartments (*Woordenboek*, IV, 582, under *mula*), but that is not the case in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan.

3 *Aling-aling* is the wall shutting off the view of the compound from the street.

4 On the theme of assigning a group of people to a *pĕkatik*, see Berg, *Traditie*, 113.

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5 These stones are reminiscent of the *watu kulumpang* of early Java: see Krom, *Geschiedenis*, 176. The *pura kaki dukun* is sometimes as called the *pusèh kaki dukun*.

6 Similar tales are given in Van Eck, "Schetsen", IX, 117, and Powell, *Paradise*, 82.

7 See Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, I, 300, and Damsté, "Oudheden", 72 f.

8 According to bronze epigraphs, in early times the name of the village was Tranganan: *cf.* Goris, *Prasasti*, II, 324.

9 A similar prohibition exists in the *Bali-aga desa* of Sèmbiran: "Grondenrecht", 383.

10 The population of Tĕnganan at the time this study was made (1926) was as follows:

		Exclusive of Pandé Banjar		*Banjar of Pandé*	
Males					
	Adults	180		69	
	Children (1½+)	34		15	
	Infants (<1½)	13		7	
	All males		*227*		*91*
Females					
	Adults	144		72	
	Children (1½+)	26		20	
	Infants (<1½)	18		5	
	All females		*188*		*97*
Total population			*415*		*188*

11 It should be mentioned that the *pĕrbĕkĕl* I Panggu, a well-known *balian* in Tĕnganan, rejects the authority of the *usadas*: *cf.* Weck, *Heilkunde*, 29 f.

12 Data on these fabrics can be found in Nieuwenkamp, *Bali*, 206–213, while Damsté, "Weefsels", recounts the occasions at which *gĕringsing* cloths are used on Bali and mentions the miraculous powers attributed to them. The various stages in the weaving of Tĕnganan fabrics were demonstrated at an exhibition organized in August, 1927, at The Hague by the Society of Friends of Asian Art. On the use of Tĕnganan cloths by Sasaks on Lombok, see *Verslag*, 3 ff.

13 In point of fact, the Tĕngananese women prefer not to sell their products, and if they do sell them it is as a favour to the buyer.

14 See also Berg, *Traditie*, 50 n.

15 See Damsté, "Weefsels", 180 f.

16 For northern Bali see Moojen, *Kunst*, Plate XXIII. The *galunggang* is mentioned in the Buahan copper epigraph E, dated 1103 *Çāka* (1181 A.D.): see Van Stein Callenfels, "Epigraphia", 41.

II: LEGAL COMMUNITIES IN TĔNGANAN

1 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 84.

2 The *pusèh* is the temple of origin for the *desa* as a whole. The *paibons* point towards a manner of worship such as is also to be found in some other *desas* of

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Karangasĕm, for example Sĕlat: the gods sit at the four cardinal points, while their servants, four particular officials, sit in between them. One of the Tĕnganan *paibons* bears the legend: "This gate was made on Wednesday-Umanis in the week of Mĕdangsia, the seventh day ..., 1837 *Çāka* [1915 A.D.]".

3 Van Stein Callenfels, "Gegevens", 416.
4 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 122–123; *ibid.*, first edition, 64.
5 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 269–271.

III: CLASS AND STATUS

1 Van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, I, 295.
2 *Ibid.*, I, 664.
3 *Ibid.*, I, 450.
4 *Ibid.*, I, 401.
5 Korn, *Adatrecht*, 152 f.; Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, IV, 207.
6 *Ibid.*, II, 382 (under 11).
7 See also *ibid.*, III, 143 (under *soda*).
8 See *ibid.*, IV, 201, 1017.
9 *Ibid.*, IV, 49.
10 *Ibid.*, II, 411.
11 *Ibid.*, II, 523.
12 *Ibid.*, III, 769.
13 *Ibid.*, IV, 642.
14 Rassers, *Pandji-roman;* Rassers, "Drama"; Rassers, "Çiwa".
15 *Tahak* has the same significance as *charikan* – leftover portion of food – and thus indicates an inferior position.

IV: ADMINISTRATIVE, JUDICIAL, AND LEGISLATIVE MATTERS

1 The *kĕbayans tahak* sit still lower, but are not core villagers.
2 The *mĕbea nganten* is a festive all-day ceremony held by a newly married couple on a favourable day several months after their wedding.
3 See above, p. 315.
4 Van der Tuuk, *Woordenboek*, II, 581.
5 On this term, see Korn, *Adatrecht*, 359, 397.
6 *Ibid.*, 358, 397.
7 *Ibid.*, 399 f.
8 *Ibid.*, 401.

V: THE DESA IN ITS RELATION TO OTHER LEGAL COMMUNITIES

1 Van Bloemen Waanders, "Bijdragen", 374–375.
2 *Cf.* above, p. 320.

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In the bibliography composite names beginning with words such as Van, De, and so forth have been placed in alphabetical order under the surname proper rather than under such words: for example, P. L. van Bloemen Waanders is listed under B, and P. de Kat Angelino under K. For an explanation of abbreviations used in the bibliography, see below, pp. 405.

[p. 391 contains no textural material]

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List of Abbreviations

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B	*Bhâwandgara: Soerat boelanan oentoek memperhatikan peradaban Bali* (*Bhâwandgara:* Monthly for the Study of Balinese Culture).
BKI	*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (*van Nederlandsch-Indië*) *uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* (*van Nederlandsch-Indië*) (Contributions to [the] Philology, Geography, and Ethnology [of the Netherlands East Indies] Published by the Royal Institute for Philology, Geography, and Ethnology [of the Netherlands East Indies]).
D	*Djâwâ: Tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut* (Java: Journal of the Java Institute).
I	*Indonesië:* [*Tweemaandelijks*] *tijdschrift gewijd aan het Indonesisch cultuurgebied* (Indonesia: [Bi-monthly] Journal Devoted to the Indonesian Cultural Area).
KT	*Koloniaal Tijdschrift* (Colonial Journal).
MK	*Mededeelingen van de Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk* (Communications of the Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk Foundation).
S	*Siasat: Warta sepekan* (Enquiry: News Weekly).
TBG	*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde uitgegeven door het* (*Koninklijk*) *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Journal of Indonesian Philology, Geography, and Ethnology Published by the [Royal] Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).
TNI	*Tijdschrift voor Ne(d)erlandsch Indië* (Netherlands East Indies Journal).
VBG	*Verhandelingen van het* (*Koninklijk*) *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Proceedings of the [Royal] Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).

Glossary

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adat: custom, especially (as source of) customary law.

aděgan: effigy of dead person inscribed with appropriate letters and serving as substitute for corpse in cremation ceremonies.

agama: 'lawbook(s)', writing(s) containing ethical codes for various classes of Balinese on the basis of Hindu religious law (as opposed to *adat*).

ajĕngan: offering of rice in hemisphere shape with meat dressings.

alang-alang: Imperata cylindrica, kind of grass which is dried and used for roofing.

anak agung: title for person of either sex in *ksatriya* caste; also used as title of ruling prince.

arga: 'paean', group of religious writings usually associated with *tutur* and *wedas* (*q.v.*).

arja: Balinese folk theatre.

awig-awig: (collection of) *desa* or *subak* regulations.

bade: towerlike structure in which body of member of *triwangsa* is carried to place of cremation.

bahan: in Tĕnganan (one of) group of twelve high-ranking *desa* members, eldest six of which are in charge of day-to-day village affairs.

bale: house, shed, pavilion, hall, platform, table, bed.

bale agung: 'great house', 'large hall', assembly hall where members of *desa* meet, in mountain villages usually in *pura desa* (*q.v.*).

bale bandung: pavilion where corpse is displayed before cremation.

bale banjar: assembly hall where members of *banjar* meet.

bale buga: in Tĕngananese homes space where women weave during day and boys and young men sleep at night.

bale pangĕnděm: assembly hall of *pĕsaren* (*q.v.*) and offering pavilion in Pĕmayun Temple.

bale pĕgongan: building housing *gong* or *gamĕlan* (*q.v.*), in Pĕmayun Temple also assembly hall of *pĕmaksan* (*q.v.*).

bale pĕruman: pavilion of gods.

Bali-aga: 'original Balinese', Hindu Balinese of mountain areas and of villages elsewhere that have maintained their isolation, resisting religious and cultural influences originating from Javanese realm of Majapahit (see p. 31).

balian: functionary in *desa* religious services, in particular maintaining contact with gods as medium.

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banjar: in older villages organization including all married male residents of *desa* and charged with most activities in secular sphere; at present (*cf. banjar* of Tĕgal and *banjars* of Tĕnganan) usually one of several 'wards' of *desa*.

baris: type of martial dance usually performed by men in formation carrying weapons.

baris dĕmang: dance of *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs*, performed as part of *odalan* liturgy at Pura Pĕmayun.

baris pendet: offering dance (*cf. pendet*).

barong: mask representing mythological monster, one of chief exponents of 'dexter' or 'white' magic; dance-drama in which *barong* plays central rôle.

batara: (title for) god, deified ancestor, or other divine being.

batu: mount, mountain(s).

batuguling: in Tĕnganan (member of) second-highest of five classes.

bĕndesa: village official (for a time head in newer-type *desas*, though now usually superseded by *kliĥan*); (member of) highest-ranking genealogical group in *sudra* caste; in Tĕnganan (member of) right flank of fifth and lowest class.

bujangga: see *sĕngguhu.*

buta: minor demon.

Çāka: 'Scythian', hence *Çāka* era, one of two eras of Indian history; on Bali 1 *Çāka* = 79 A.D.

chanang: offering (see also *ajĕngan*).

chandi: (temple containing) *lingga*-shaped monumental column associated with royal ancestor cult.

charik: ricefield(s); in Tĕnganan one of fourteen complexes of ricefields in village territory.

charu: offering to nether-worldly forces, always made at ground level.

chatu: 'victuals', name for (*a*) *lontar* leaf given priest as mark of consecration; (*b*) offering column or altar erected near important waterworks in each *subak*.

controleur: European civil servant, on Bali on the regional level.

core villager: see *kĕrama desa.*

Court of Kĕrta: high court of principality or region, consisting of chairman and three judges (plus one or two additional judges in cases involving non-Bali Hindus).

dalĕm: see *pura dalĕm.*

de mangku: highest authority in Tĕnganan.

de ngijĕng: second-highest authority in Tĕnganan.

dĕha: girl, (young) unmarried woman.

dĕmang: (one of) group of dancers in *baris dĕmang* (*q.v.*).

dĕmung: (one of) group of dancers in *baris dĕmang* (*q.v.*).

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desa: village community, association of persons within village responsible for *desa* (as opposed to *banjar*) affairs. 104

dewa: (title for) divine or deified being, or for member of *ksatriya* caste.

dewa agung: ruler of Gelgel and later of Klungkung, until this century theoretically exercising suzerainty over all Bali.

dmbak buluh: in Tĕnganan (member of) left flank in third of five classes.

dmpu: (title for) master, mentor, lord.

Galungan: chief Balinese festival in honour of ancestors.

gambang: orchestra of archaic percussion instruments with bamboo keys.

gambuh: type of chivalric dance-drama, less restrained than *baris;* orchestra of flutes, violins, and percussion instruments accompanying it.

gamĕlan: (set of instruments making up) any of various types of percussion orchestras.

gamĕlan sĕlunding: type of *gamĕlan* consisting of archaic instruments with large iron keys.

garuda mungkur: adornment in shape of bird's head worn at rear of head as part of dancer's headdress.

gĕnding: air, theme.

gĕringsing: type of cloth woven in Tĕnganan and required for various *adat* ceremonies throughout Bali.

gumi pulungan: in Tĕnganan (member of) group of able-bodied men who are not yet or no longer core villagers.

guru: teacher, mentor, parent, progenitor.

gusti: title for member of third or *wesya* caste.

ijĕng: in Tĕnganan (member of) left flank of highest class.

jĕro: vocative form used for members of lowest or *sudra* caste.

joged: erotic dance performed by young girl (or boy in travesty) making eyes at men in audience, who 'cut in' and dance with her one by one.

kain: piece of cloth, in special sense that worn by men wrapped around waist and tucked in as skirt.

kaja: 'upstream', 'towards the interior', direction of mountains, particularly Gunung Agung, and of gods; hence sphere of goodness, upper-worldly sphere (*cf.* pp. 37–40).

kala: minor demon.

kangin: direction quarter turn to left of *kaja*, also commonly used as designation for 'east'.

kauh: direction quarter turn to right of *kaja*, also commonly used as designation for 'west'.

kĕbayan: high-ranking official in old-style villages; (one of) group belonging to *sudra* caste.

kĕbayan desa: see *klihan luanan.*

kĕbayan tahak: in Tĕnganan (one of) group of non-core villagers with duty of keeping *desa* clean.

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kechak: dance with large groups of men singing in chorus, moving and dancing to rhythm of music, often as accompaniment to trance performances such as *sangyang*.

kĕlod: 'downstream', 'towards the sea', direction of Majapahit and demons; hence sphere of evil, nether-worldly sphere (*cf.* pp. 37–40).

kĕrama desa: core villager(s), member(s) of *desa* association.

kĕsit: series of *sawah* plots lying behind one another and held by same person.

kĕtipat: small packet of rice steamed in plaited coconut leaves, often used in offerings.

kidung: 'song', particularly literary work written in Balinese Javanese, and in Javanese metres.

klihan (often *klian*): village head in newer-style *desas;* head of any of various other associations; in Tĕnganan (member of) one of several groups of senior core villagers.

klihan bahan: in Tĕnganan (one of) group of six core villagers in charge of day-to-day affairs, also called *klihan desa.*

klihan banjar: head of *banjar*, particularly as representative of higher authorities.

klihan desa: village head (see also *klihan bahan*).

klihan gumi: in Tĕnganan (one of) group of six *desa* elders who are no longer core villagers.

klihan luanan: in Tĕnganan (one of) group of six senior members of *desa*, also called *kĕbayan desa.*

klihan subak: head of irrigation association.

klihan tampek: head of *tampek* (*q.v.*).

kraton: 'royalty' and its attributes, hence royal palace.

ksatriya: (member of) second of four castes, including many rulers and *punggawas* (*q.v.*).

kulkul: split wooden block beaten to give signals, call meetings, and sound alarms.

legong: type of dance performed by two or three young girls.

lingga: 'phallus', especially as attribute or symbol of Siwa; hence phallic-shaped monument erected in honour of Siwa to promote fertility and prosperity.

lontar: type of palm (Borassus flabelliformis); leaf or leaves of *lontar* used as material on which to write; manuscript(s) copied on *lontar* leaves.

luanan: see *klihan luanan.*

mangku: see *de mangku; pĕmangku.*

mantra: ritual formula(s) recited in Sanskrit.

mĕbakti: to perform sacrament of homage.

mĕkĕle: medium, *balian.*

meru: temple structure in shape of multiple-roofed pagoda usually representing divine mountain Mahameru.

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mpu: see *ěmpu.*

nabe: *guru,* mentor.

navel temple: see *pura pusěh.*

nawa-sanga: ninefold system, particularly system of nine gods or of nine colours or other symbols of them.

ng(ěr)wah: lesser deity serving as protector of ground.

nini: 'rice mother' constructed of handful of rice in field as residence for goddess Sri before harvesting is begun; in Tĕnganan title for wife of *de mangku* and *de ngijěng.*

Nyĕpi: annual ceremonial of purification held at beginning of tenth month, Kadasa.

odalan: temple anniversary, particularly if celebrated according to Javanese-Balinese calendar (*cf. usaba*); designation for Javanese-Balinese or *uku* year of 210 days.

padmasana: 'lotus-seat', stone altar for sun-god Surya or Siwa; seat of similar design on which bodies of *pĕdandas* are carried to place of cremation.

paibon: offering column to ancestors in garden of compound; shrine of origin in clan and royal family temples; in Tĕnganan one of four chapels (not shrines of origin) at four corners of village.

pajěg: tax, usually in kind.

palok: in Tĕnganan core villager in his function of former member of young people's association.

pande: 'smith(s)', (member of) genealogical group of *sudras* descending from traditional metalsmiths (see pp. 289–299); in Tĕnganan (member of) fourth of five classes.

pande mas: 'goldsmith(s)', (member of) one of two flanks in *pande* group (see pp. 289–299).

pande wĕsi: 'blacksmith(s)', (member of) one of two flanks in *pande* group.

panĕngĕn: 'to the right', in Tĕnganan right one of two flanks into which all villagers are grouped.

pangĕněm: see *bale pangĕněm.*

panggungan: offering altar.

pangkonan: type of rice offering.

pasar: market.

pasĕk: village official (for a time head in newer-type *desas,* though later superseded first by *bĕndesa* then by *kliĕan*); (member of) genealogical group in *sudra* caste; in Tĕnganan (*a*) (member of) left flank of lowest class, (*b*) *desa* official, sole keeper of boars (post filled by *pasĕk* from elsewhere).

patih: 'chief minister', 'vizier', chief adviser to ruler.

pauman: see *tempek.*

pĕbajangan: graveyard for small children.

pĕdanda: priest(s) of Brahman caste.

pĕdanda Boda: pĕdanda of 'Buddhist' rite or 'left path'.

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pĕdanda Siwa: *pĕdanda* of 'Çiwaitic' rite or 'right path'.

pĕdasan: daughter village(s).

pĕmaksan: voluntary worship group charged with maintaining grounds and structures of temple and caring for ceremonials performed there.

pĕmangku: 'temple guardian', non-Brahman priest who conducts most religious ceremonies in popular sphere in newer-style villages.

pĕmĕnchangah: (one of) group of more or less historical works written in Javanese.

pĕmĕrajan: household temple or shrine, particularly of *triwangsa* family.

pĕmuda: 'boy', 'youth', member of movement of young men fighting for Republican cause in Indonesian Revolution.

pendet: ritual of presenting offering (*cf. baris pendet*).

pĕndrus: 'sequel', in Pura Pĕmayun annual purification ceremony of predominantly nether-worldly character.

pĕngawin: in Tĕnganan (one of) group of boys who year before were *tĕruna nyoman* (*q.v.*).

pĕngiwa: 'to the left', hence 'sinister action(s)', 'black magic', reversal of cosmic order; in Tĕnganan left one of two flanks into which all villagers are grouped.

pĕngluduhan: 'those who are charged', in Tĕnganan (member of) lowest-ranking group of core villagers.

penjor: long, flexible bamboo pole adorned with offerings and placed beside portal during Galungan and harvest festivals.

pĕnyakap: sharecropper, *cf. sĭkaha pĕnyakap.*

pĕnyarikan: village official, in newer-type villages usually also *klihan;* head of any of various other associations; in Tĕnganan (*a*) person of rank of *bahan* charged with sounding signal block (*pĕnyarikan desa*), (*b*) *charik* official.

pĕrbĕkĕl: administrative official above village headmen.

pĕrbĕkĕlan: area of several *desas* under jurisdiction of one *pĕrbĕkĕl.*

pĕrdikan desa: desa granted freedom from certain taxes and services and charged with certain duties.

pĕsarin: women's voluntary worship group charged with caring for ceremonials performed in temple.

pĕsĕdahan: area under jurisdiction of *sĕdahan.*

pirata: dead person whose body has not yet been cremated.

pitara: dead person whose body has been cremated but who has not yet been completely purified and become one with the deified progenitor.

potet: servant and clown in Balinese drama.

prajurit: in Tĕnganan (member of) right flank in third of five classes.

pralingga: temporary lodging for deity during temple ceremony.

prasada: (temple containing) *lingga*-shaped monumental column associated with royal ancestor cult.

prasasti: charter, epigraph; in broader sense document with legal validity.

puja: 'reverence', 'homage', recitation of sacred texts or proverbs.

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puja charu: annual religious festival in certain traditional *desas.*

punggawa: 'bull', administrative head of district, in earlier times usually relative of ruler.

pura: temple, sanctuary.

pura bale agung: 'temple of the large hall', sanctuary located in centre of village where *desa* meetings are usually held.

pura bukit: 'hill temple', mountain sanctuary, also called *pura puchak.*

pura dadia: 'clan temple', temple erected by number of families for common ancestors.

pura dalĕm: 'temple of the dead', temple, usually located in or nearby burial ground *kĕlod* or *kĕlod*-west of village, where not-yet-deified dead are paid homage.

pura desa: 'village temple', in Buleleng temple combining characteristics of *pura pusĕh* and *pura bale agung.*

pura kĕntĕl gumi: 'temple where the earth has congealed', sanctuary commemorating origin of world.

pura panti: temple of voluntary or other non-*desa* worship association, *pura pĕmaksan* (*q.v.*).

pura pĕkuwon: in Tĕnganan temple commemorating origin of five classes.

pura pĕmaksan: temple of voluntary worship association or *pĕmaksan.*

pura pĕnataran: temple for ruler in quality of head of state.

pura puchak: see *pura bukit.*

pura pusĕh: 'navel temple', temple usually located *kaja* or *kaja*-east of village, where contact is maintained with deified dead become one with village founder.

pura pusĕr ing jagat: 'world-navel temple', sanctuary symbolizing origin of world.

pura sĕgara: 'sea temple'.

puri: royal palace, *kraton.*

pusĕh: see *pura pusĕh.*

puspa: 'flower(s)', flower offering, particularly cone-shaped offering containing four different colours of flowers arranged each in its own quadrant.

ratu: 'ruler', 'lord'.

rĕjang: line dance performed by group of girls at temple festival; girl performing *rĕjang.*

rĕrainan: holiday(s), holy day(s), particularly favourable day(s) on which small offerings are made by *pĕmangku.*

sadkayangan: group of six chief Balinese sanctuaries, though listings vary as to which temples are included and frequently mention more than six.

sang hyang: title for highest gods.

sanggah: household temple, group of shrines for ancestors and family gods on *kaja* or *kaja-kangin* side of every compound.

sanggah kĕmulan (*tiga-sakti*): tripartite shrine of origin for worshipping family ancestors in household temple.

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sanggar: temporary offering platform.

sanggar agung: tripartite temporary platform of bamboo for offerings, particularly to Surya or Siwa; *padmasana;* also called *sanggar tawang.*

sanggar tawang: see *sanggar agung.*

sang yang: dance performed by young girls in trance; in Tĕnganan (member of) highest-ranking of five classes.

sawah: irrigated ricefield.

saya: messenger or crier for *desa, banjar,* or other association.

sĭdahan: 'steward', agricultural and tax official administrating part of region under *sĭdahan agung.*

sĭdahan agung: 'great steward', agricultural official and landrent and revenue collector on regional level.

sĭka(ha): 'association', generally of voluntary type.

sĭkaha charik: in Tĕnganan association of persons holding *sawahs* in one *charik.*

sĭkaha pĕnyakap: in Tĕnganan association of persons working lands in one *charik,* also called *sĭkaha toya.*

sĭkaha toya: see *sikaha pĕnyakap.*

sĭkar: flower offering, *puspa.*

sĭlunding: see *gamĕlan sĭlunding.*

sĭmar pĕgulingan: orchestra consisting primarily of flutes.

sĭmbah: gesture of reverence or homage made by raising hands to forehead, closed as in prayer, with fingertips touching.

sĭngguhu: priest of *sudra* caste with *kĕlod* attributes who in Brahmanic ceremonies performs nether-worldly rites.

subak: irrigation association, association of owners or holders of irrigable ricefields forming one complex, with aim of promoting common interests; area under one *subak* association; in Tĕnganan (*a*) core villager whose home serves as meeting place for young people's association, hence also meeting place itself, (*b*) official of one of several associations (*klihan*), or (*c*) (*subak desa*) second-highest authority in village (*de ngijĭng*).

sudra: (member of) fourth and lowest caste, to which most Balinese belong.

suryasewana: devotional rite performed daily by *pĕdanda* for sun god Surya or Siwa.

tambĕlapu: in Tĕnganan (member of) next-to-lowest group of core villagers.

tambunan gumi: in Tĕnganan (one of) group of able-bodied men in village, one per household.

tĕgalan: non-irrigated (rice)field.

tempek: in Karangasĕm association comprising everyone obliged to attend ruler; in southern Bali subdivision of *banjar.*

tĕruna: boy, youth, young unmarried man.

tĕruna nyoman: third son, hence younger boy; in Tĕnganan boy in his first year as member of young people's association.

tĕruna tĕmu: older boy, youth.

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tilêm: (festival of) new moon.

tirta: holy water.

titi gonggang: 'rickety bridge', 'hell bridge', bamboo or plank over pit signifying border between life and death.

triaksara: 'three characters', formula for tripartite cosmic order.

triwangsa: 'three castes', (member of one of) three privileged castes (Brahmins, *ksatriyas*, and *weśyas*) above *sudras*.

tukang bantên: woman expert in preparation of offerings.

tumpang: one of multiple roofs of *meru*.

tumpêk: period of five seven-day weeks in Javanese-Balinese year; hence Saturday-Klion closing each such period.

tutur: work(s) treating mysteries of dogma, mystical writing(s).

uku: seven-day week in Javanese-Balinese year; hence date determined according to Javanese-Balinese (*uku*) calendar.

ulu: 'head end'.

usaba: in Karangasêm temple anniversary, particularly anniversary celebrated according to Hindu-Balinese calendar (*cf. odalan*); in northern Bali harvest festival.

usada: work(s) on medicine and botany.

wariga: work(s) on chronology and calendar divination, study of which is considered prerequisite to all further learning.

wayang: 'puppet' used in shadow play, hence shadow play and similar types of drama.

weda: (one of) four early Sanskrit collections of hymns none of which are apparently extant on Bali, where term is used to cover broader group of theological, ritual, and mystical writings including *argas* and *tuturs* (*q.v.*).

weśya: (member of) third of four castes, bearing title of *gusti*.

widadari: celestial nymph(s).

wuku: see *uku*.

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